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FBIS-EEU-95-226 *24 November 1995*

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OSCE Says Dayton Accord Strengthens Role

LD2311221795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2022 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vienna, Nov 23 (TANJUG) - The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) said on Thursday that the peace accord for Bosnia, struck at Dayton, Ohio on Tuesday [21 November], would strengthen its role in supervising elections and human rights practices.

In a statement released in Vienna, the OSCE said that the accord would also help along confidence-building and disarmament in the war zones in the Balkans.

The Dayton accord requires the OSCE to prepare and supervise free elections in bosnia, With the vote-counting boards composed of international experts and representatives of both Bosnian entities — the Republika Srpska and the Muslim-Croat Federation.

The accord obligates all parties to the conflict to open talks under the aegis of the OSCE within seven days to discuss a package of confidence-restoration measures.

These should ban movement of military potentials and holding of exercises, provide for control of all military operations and information exchange, and should be applied within 45 days, the statement said.

The negotiators should set a ceiling on the number of tanks, armoured cars, planes and fighter helicopters that the confronted parties could possess.

Ranking OSCE officials are due to leave on a fact-finding mission soon to learn the situation at first hand, going first to Zagreb and Sarajevo on Nov. 23-25, the statement said.

Serbian, Bosnian Serb Reaction to Peace Agreement

LD2211151795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1453 GMT 22 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 22 (TANJUG)—A large number of political parties, firms, institutions and officials in Yugoslavia and the Serb Republic, the Bosnian Serb state, on Wednesday [22 November] hailed a peace agreement reached in Dayton, Ohio, the day before.

The local committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo and Metohija described the agreement as the greatest feat by the Yugoslav delegation to the Dayton talks, in particular by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

The committee also expressed hope that 'a just and enduring peace in the former Yugoslavia has at last been achieved.'

The local SPS committee in Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina described the agreement as a triumph of President Milosevic's principled policy of peace and his ceaseless diplomatic efforts.

The Dayton peace deal is a triumph of peace and Serbia's chance to return to the international community, said the local committee in southern Serbian town of Vranje, of the Serbian Renewal Movement, one of the biggest opposition parties.

The opposition Reformists' Democratic Party of Vojvodina said the agreement was of historic importance not only to the peoples of the former Yugoslavia but also to the Balkans and Europe as a whole, and said peace and reason had triumphed over violence.

Chairman of the Council of the Yugoslav Federation of Independent Trade Unions, Dragan Radulovic, told TANJUG that the agreement had secured conditions for 'a lasting peace in the former Yugoslavia.'

Radulovic said the agreement would enable the peoples of the former Yugoslavia to work normally and to cooperate.

Serb Republic Defence Minister Milan Ninkovic said Serbs had lost part of their ancestral lands under the Dayton peace agreement, but said the agreement was of greater importance.

Speaking for the local radio in the northern Bosnian town of Doboj, Ninkovic said President Milosevic's role in bringing about peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina was great and that the people of the Serb Republic were greatly indebted to him.

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Foreign Ministry Declaration on Dayton Agreement

AU2211184795 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 22 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Republic of Bulgaria hails the Dayton framework peace agreement, which reveals prospects of ending an exceptionally painful and grave period in European and world modern history.

A special declaration issued by the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs stresses the importance of the Dayton agreement for Bulgaria.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs especially confirms the fundamental position of the Republic of Bulgaria on reaching a just and lasting political solution to the crisis by peaceful means, accompanied by suspending and lifting the UN Security Council sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This issue has always had a primary importance for Bulgaria. Bulgaria insists on lifting the sanctions, something that will create preconditions for implementing the peace agreement and stabilizing the region in a lasting manner.

The UN Security Council should adopt without any delay an appropriate decision on the sanctions, which would logically supplement the package of Dayton agreements.

Simultaneously Bulgaria, which has always strictly implemented the resolutions of the UN Security Council, thinks that the issue of cooperation on the part of the international community in compensating the losses suffered by third states as a result of applying the sanctions, now directly emerges on the agenda.

By joining the relevant international initiatives Bulgaria will not only be able to contribute to the postwar reconstruction and development of the region, but also be partly compensated for the great losses it suffered as a result of applying the sanctions.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs renews its note on this matter at the EU, the Contact Group countries, and the competent international organizations and financial institutions. Bulgaria thinks that its contribution to the efforts of the international community to restore normal life in the region will also have a positive social economic and political effect on the Bulgarian society.

Zhelev, Greek President Hail Dayton Agreement

AU2211145995 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 22 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The official part of the visit to Bulgaria of Greek President Konstandinos Stefanopoulos ended on 22 November with a joint news conference held by him and President Zhelyu Zhelev. Naturally, the Dayton agreement was the central subject.

This is a success of the United Nations and the European and U.S. administrations, President Zhelev said. This success confirms the correctness of the Bulgarian position on noninterfering in former Yugoslavia. Bulgaria has the right to insist on participating in the plan for reconstructing and restoring the region in the post-conflict period, the Bulgarian president said and stressed that this right is a result not only of the great financial losses suffered by our country as a result of strictly observing the Yugoslavia embargo.

It is high time, after a war lasting almost 43 months, to establish the foundations of a peaceful coexistence of the nations of former Yugoslavia, Greek President Stefanopoulos said. He expressed the hope that the Dayton agreement will be a really reliable foundation for peace in the Balkans.

As far as the Greek head of state's official visit to Bulgaria is concerned, Mr. Stefanopoulos assessed it as exceptionally successful. He said that the visit inspires hope that in the future an even greater impetus to Bulgarian-Greek relations will be given.

Presidents Zhelev and Stefanopoulos praised the upcoming signing of the agreements on seasonal workers, opening new checkpoints along the Bulgarian-Greek borders, and resolving the issue of the River Mesta water.

The Bulgarian president expressed hope that Greek Prime Minister Papandreou will recover soon, so that all these agreements can be signed during his visit to Sofia.

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Government Expects To Send Troops to Bosnia

LD2211160095 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 22 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec described the Bosnia peace agreement as a reason for great satisfaction.

He went on to say that the Czechs expect to send a military unit to Bosnia and that this will be not only a symbolic gesture. He added that there was intensive discussion under way on Czech participation in the peace troops under NATO command.

As a member of the UN Security Council, the Czech Republic will also actively support the proposal to lift the economic sanctions against Serbia and to abolish gradually the embargo on the export of weapons to the former Yugoslavia.

Trade With FRY To Resume 'in 3 Weeks'

LD2311232095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2152 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prague, Nov 23 (TANJUG) - Conditions for a resumption of trade between the Czech Republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will be created in three weeks' time at the latest, the Czech Foreign Ministry said late on Thursday.

Over the next few days, the ministry will work out and submit to the gove ıment and parliament recommendations for abolishing certain laws and regulations, which would make possible trade between the two countries, the ministry said in a statement.

The ministry is preparing also the necessary measures in connection with a gradual lifting of the arms ban on former Yugoslavia, in order possibly to open the door to trade in this field as well, the statement added.

On Wednesday, Nov. 22, the U.N. Security Council suspended indefinitely the comprehensive and compulsory sanctions clamped on the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro on May 30, 1992 on the allegation of its involvement in the Bosnian civil war.

The council ruled also to lift gradually, over the next 180 days, the September 1991 ban on arms sales to all six republics of former Yugoslavia.

Air Force Receives Fuel, Resumes Pilot Training

AU2311153595 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 18 Nov 95 p 3

[Report by "jc, gag": "Air Force Pilots Do Little Training Because of Lack of Funds"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Prague — The Air Force, which recently reduced its training to the minimum until the end of the year, is going to fly after all. The pilots can thank an extraordinary shipment of 3 million liters of fuel for this. Thus, after a lapse of seven days, the defense of the country space has been restored.

Funds are still lacking, however, for spare parts and repairs of the aircraft. The General Staff obtained 50 million korunas for the fuel by calling off planned purchases of less important items, such as office equipment.

"Pilot training has been resumed," said Pavel Palecek, chief of staff of the active Air Force. So, the pilots will reach the standard of about 50 hours per year on average. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus has also been dealing with Army issues this week. In his view, it is no longer possible to have some matter-of-fact grand concept of the Army and then say that there is no money for it. The prime minister believes that another reduction in the strength of the Army is to be expected so that the Republic can support it.

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Gasparovic Assails 'Distorted' Western Demarches

LD2311150295 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 2100 GMT 22 Nov 95

[Opening address by Slovak National Council Chairman Ivan Gasparovic at the constituent session of the joint parliamentary committee of the European Union and Slovak Republic in Bratislava on 22 November — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ladies and gentlemen, esteemed audience: To start with, allow me to convey my pleasure at being able to welcome to Bratislava the deputies from the joint committee of the European Parliament and the National Council of the Slovak Republic, and to wish this new joint parliamentary committee plenty of success in its difficult and yet crucial work. [passage omitted]

The Slovak Republic, as a country associated with the European Union, attaches exceptional importance to the creation of the joint parliamentary committee and declares its full support for the creation of all conditions necessary for Slovakia's joining the European Union. [passage omitted]

The former Czechoslovakia has split up in a peaceful way, and the independent and sovereign Slovak Republic has emerged. I wish to state very openly and clearly here that many European states did not view this process favorably, and although they formally and officially recognized the Slovak Republic, they have ever since continually questioned its democratic domestic political development and foreign policy. [passage omitted]

I am asking myself: Have Western diplomats and observes actually understood the sense of historical developments in Slovakia? Do they understand the essence of these changes? Do they understand Slovak national characteristics? Each nation, each state has some specific features, and these are in general respected. Naturally, this path and this development is fraught with errors, misunderstandings, and wrong decisions. On the other hand, however, we have been successful and clearly achieved positive results.

But instead of understanding and support on the part of Western states, the Slovak Republic has been almost permanently confronted by various notifications, warnings, and demarches, which are in many respects imprecise, distorted, and in parts virtually untrue.

I stress once again that we do make errors and mistakes, that on the way to a democratic and prosperous society, we do sometimes let go of our guiding support or firm direction. We are, however, willing to talk about our problems at any time and through open discussion to eliminate our mistakes. Such a process is under way in all the countries around us.

We can hardly talk about any objective discussion here. The information Western states receive is one-sided, at least in the sense that it is primarily provided by nongovernmental parties. It really is unusual for legitimate governments not to be in contact with the legitimate government of the Slovak Republic, which after all evolved from free and democratic elections and which was elected by the citizens of this republic. I am sure that in such discussions, many problems would be explained and undoubtedly also put right. However, as we can see, Western governments are not sufficiently interested even in that kind of discussion.

I have to point out that the method of sending demarches and warnings in this spirit is causing dangerous nervousness and tension in the domestic politics of Slovakia; a large section of society is beginning to have serious doubts about the sincere desire of Western states to have the Slovak Republic integrate into the European Union and NATO; and the Slovak Government is going to have to work harder and harder to reassure public opinion, because the warnings aimed at Slovakia, however well aimed and well meaning they may be, are having a boomerang effect. They are counterproductive and often increase the number of Euro-skeptics.

My esteemed audience, I want to be genuinely correctly understood in saying that we are prepared to accept the factual and truthful [vecny a pravdivy] content of the demarches and representations. We are prepared to talk about them — that constitutes part of the open and constructive dialogue in which we absolutely are interested, which we welcome, and which we ourselves desire and call for. However, what is absolutely unacceptable to the Slovak Republic is the exertion of pressure, the receipt of one-sided information which is frequently not objective and which thus often leads to unobjective assessments and conclusions drawn by the European Union about the Slovak Republic.

This is not how we see our cooperation, and we are following the European Union's attitude toward the Slovak Republic with considerable concern. Allow me to draw your attention to just a few examples of cases when the facts were manipulated. [passage omitted]

One issue I would like to discuss is that of ethnic minorities, in particular regarding the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. This problem, regardless of the level on which it is dealt with and the attention it receives, always appears to be a fitting and welcome topic when there is a possibility of casting doubt on the Slovak Republic's credibility. [passage omitted]

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The hysteria surrounding the Hungarian minority in Slovakia is not subsiding. On the contrary, it is getting more intense and benefits from considerable help from Hungarian politicians and, regrettably, on some occasions also from representatives of the Hungarian Government. The latest reason is the recently adopted Language Law, even though this bill poses no danger to minorities. [passage omitted]

I have to say that the Hungarian minority card is being used for the purpose of destabilizing the internal situation in Slovakia. I would like to say again and again and with utmost seriousness that we are not interested in not observing minorities' rights. On the contrary, we are only asking that all citizens of the Slovak Republic should have equal rights and equal duties. [passage omitted]

While on the subject of minorities, I would like to ask, esteemed colleagues from the European Parliament, whether you have ever heard of the unprecedented assimilation of the almost 500,000-strong Slovak minority in Hungary. Are you at all aware of the fact that only about 10,000 Slovak citizens in Hungary claim Slovak nationality today, and that the rest of them have just disappeared into thin air? This is incomprehensible, to say the least. Is this not evidence of indifference vis-a-vis the Slovak minority in Hungary? There is no other way I can explain this. But the point is that what Europe seeks today is to punish the victim and not the culprit.

The vision and the reality of a united, free, democratic, and prosperous Europe is a challenge of great historic importance for us, and we cannot afford to adopt an attitude of indifference to it or to miss, through our own irresponsibility and errors, this unique opportunity of becoming a fully-fledged member of the European Union. We declare unanimously: Yes, we want to be in the big European family, not just in the geographic, but also in the geopolitical sense. May no one cast any doubt on this fundamental and strategic orientation of the Slovak Republic. For us, there is no alternative.

We are aware that we shall have to travel most of this demanding path to the Union alone. We shall have to meet the conditions laid down in the White Book and observe the duties it sets. On this path, we need not only support, but an objective, albeit at times critical, observer.

Esteemed deputies, I do not doubt that you have come here with good intentions and that you intend to extend sincere help to us when we join the European Union. I would like to stress that the Slovak Republic is a stabilizing element in Central Europe, that it is building a prosperous and democratic society, and that it is striving for good and friendly relations with all its neighbors. Its orientation toward the Atlantic structures cannot be questioned. We are therefore pleased to accept your help on this path. Thank you very much.

HZDS Daily on European Parliament Resolution

AU2211180795 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 20 Nov 95 p 3

[Commentary by Viera Urbanova: "Coat From the European Parliament Tailor's Shop"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The destructive policy of that part of the opposition that cannot become reconciled to not deciding about privatization has intensified. Without regard for the damage that their lobbyist policy abroad inflicts upon their own country, opposition circles are painting in influential international organizations a distorted picture of domestic political developments in the Slovak Republic. The latest European Parliament [EP] resolution, sewn in the tailor's shop of some EP factions with ties to political parties in Slovakia, exactly copies the vocabulary used by the irresponsible Slovak opposition. This group's lack of responsibility ceased surprising us a long time ago. It is startling, however, when found among deputies of an honorable institution.

Irrespective of the fact that a European commission is to come to Slovakia this week to survey the state of our democracy, the deputies formulated a resolution, the contents of which are pitiable, to put to mildly. They tailored a coat without taking the addressee's measurements, sewing it using the crooked measuring rod of complex-ridden tailors with declining clientele. The EP is "concerned about the repeated attempts by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar to expel members of the Democratic Union [DU] from the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR], it is concerned about the mounting efforts by some political parties to push the head of state out of office." The defenders of democracy in Europe are concerned. But about what? The DU deputies got into the NRSR by dishonest means (and not even their attitude toward the law on the state language can change this fact), for which, in countries with democratic traditions, which our Western "professors" keep presenting to us as models, they would have had to vacate their parliamentary seats a long time ago, not to mention other sanctions that would follow. Do democracy and law grow under different climatic conditions in Slovakia? The NATO chief had to resign on the basis of the mere suspicion of unlawful activity. Coexistence Chairman Miklos Duray is openly standing up against his own state, calling for disregard and violation of the law on the state language, a law that the law-making body approved by an overwhelming majority. Messrs. EP Deputies,

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this is how some anti-Slovak politicians interpret the implementation of democracy in practice. This does not make you concerned?

The abduction of the president's son, on whom the head of state, as he publicly stated, would stake his life, is being turned into a political issue of foremost importance. The very fact that, in a case that smacks of a multimillion fraud, the president is misusing his political influence and position should suffice to reassess his remaining in office.

The most startling thing about the whole resolution are formulations of the type—the EP is concerned..., the EP demands..., the EP warns.... They are reminiscent of long-bygone days, when the fraternal Soviet Union used to be concerned about developments in our country, a power that, eulogized at every step, was keeping us at bay and exploiting us also economically.

The resolution is not only an incompetent interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state providing encouragement for the destructive opposition, but also a demonstration of the standard at which policy is made in the EP.

A rosy prospect, indeed.

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Editorial Doubts Future of Bosnian Peace Accord

AU2311162895 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 23 Nov 95 p 3

[Editorial by Bela Jodal: "Compulsory Hope"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Four years have passed which have destroyed Europe's southeastern part — with an admitted 200,000-300,000 dead, which cautious estimates put rather at half a million, with many millions of refugees, and industry and infrastructure turned into dust. These together have shattered the illusions and the future of many generations, to the extent that even the most modest forecasts claim that at least half a century will be needed for this region to more or less get back on its feet.

We would not like to stop the sigh of relief in anyone but, in spite of the euphoria, the optimistic statements that "the war is over" cannot be taken at face value. This is especially true because even to achieve this current Dayton agreement, it was necessary for the United States to extort the south Slav leaders with a deep stubbornness, practically keeping them under house arrest at a military base, until they said yes to the overall peace agreement.

And now? Let us look at it in turn: The position of industry and agriculture can be called catastrophic because of the fighting in Bosnia, the changeover to military production in Croatia, and the embargo in Serbia. However, this might be the least of the problems, as loans will probably not be scarce. The main point is that roads, bridges, railway lines, electric power stations and transmission lines, wells, and pipe and sewerage systems, namely structures of civilization, in addition to the military establishments, were the targets of destruction in many cases. Not to mention the masses of dwellings being wiped from the earth and the mass of destroyed vehicles.

Perhaps we should not even mention such minor details, as where will the refugees return to? And that after 40 years of hidden unemployment, and four years of uncertainty in the war and existence in the trenches, who actually has any work habits left? Or that what grounding have students been given in these four years?

It is not unimportant, either, that the Western financiers will now — nice and slowly, with a polite smile, but with full right — start to indicate that it is time to repay the state debt accumulated in the former Yugoslav times, in which all successor states will have a fair share, with compound interest. It is possible that, for rump Yugoslavia, this will be the first tangible "good deed" of the suspension of the embargo.

I would not like to be pessimistic, but who will at all guarantee that the peace will be lasting? Will it be the United Nations' blue berets who failed their mission precisely in Bosnia? Will it be the U.S troops who left Somalia due to difficulties which were much smaller than what can be expected in the Balkans? Or the south Slav nations themselves who have up to now been incited to hate each other, who continue to have plenty of old scores to pay off and accounts to square with each other, and whose extremists are terrified of internationally calling them to account, while they are armed to the teeth? Judging from the many dozens of ceasefire agreements that have been signed before, it is not at all certain that this peace agreement will be any more lasting than the previous ones.

Naturally, one has to hope — but to celebrate in advance?

Border Remains Reinforced Despite Dayton Accord

LD2311124195 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Despite the Bosnian peace agreement, border guards on the southern stretch of Hungary's border remain reinforced. This information was announced by Border Guard Spokesman Attila Krisan. He also added that the border guard units of Pecs which have been continuously on duty on the border stretch of Baranya for four months will be replaced by border guard units from Kiskunhalas and Nagykanizsa.

Soldiers of the Misina and Tenkes border guard companies have been granted a two-week leave.

Ambassador to Slovakia Recalled for Talks

LD2311200295 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has recalled its ambassador from Bratislava [Pozsony] for consultation. According to the ministry, the measure was necessary due to the situation that has evolved following the adoption of the Slovak language law on 15 November.

Bokros Offers Resignation Over Court Decision

LD2311193995 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 23 Nov 95

[Passages within quotation marks recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Finance Minister Lajos Bokros offered his resignation today at a government session. Prime Minister Gyula Horn did not accept the resignation request, but Lajos Bokros has conditions for continuing in his post. Peter Gyuricza reports:

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[Gyuricza] Lajos Bokros, speaking on television today, said that his offer to resign was connected with the latest Constitutional Court decision concerning the stabilization package on illegally high interest on preferential mortgages.

[Bokros] "It was the fourth decision of the Constitutional Court, saying that certain measures of the economic stabilization package were unconstitutional. I think that under these circumstances, when the Constitutional Court invalidates the vast majority of such a law, the normal thing in every cultural state is that the finance minister offers his or her resignation, because it is obvious that either they are professionally unsuitable for making proposals that are in harmony with the Constitution or, the other possibility, the Constitutional Court has begun to deal with economic policy, what is more, to politicize, which is a mistaken role, and means going beyond its scope of authority to such an extent, which, in the given situation, questions the entire scope of the economic policy. I believe that either the Constitutional Court exceeds its scope of authority to an extent which violates the government's competence, or all those measures have been wrong, in which case there is only one conclusion. [passage omitted]"

[Gyuricza] The two government parties must decide what legal and constitutional means it will try to apply in an attempt to restore the government's scope. Prime Minister Gyula Horn did not accept his minister's intention to resign, thus, in a legal sense he remains finance minister. He said the following on the conditions of his stay, and on his relationship with the prime minister:

[Bokros] "There is no difference of opinion with the prime minister regarding the economic policy to be followed. I stress that the prime minister has not accepted or acknowledged this announcement. I think that I can only thank the prime minister for his support of this stabilization economic policy. He has always backed the credibility of this economic policy with his own personal prestige. Now I would like ask him and the coalition parties to try to return to us those means which give us hope for the creation of economic growth. My decision depends on whether this scope can be restored."

Education Minister Resigns Over Budget Issues

LD2411133495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The minister of education has resigned, but he will stay in office until the talks on the 1996 budget are concluded.

Gabor Fodor has said the reason for his resignation is that he does not agree with several government decisions and he does not receive enough support from the prime minister. He is dissatisfied with the fact that 7 billion forints will be taken away from the budget of public education, and that further redundancies are planned in higher education.

Gabor Fodor said that his decision was not influenced by the teachers' demonstration or the fact that Lajos Bokros yesterday offered his resignation from the post of finance minister. According to Fodor, his resignation will not affect the coalition agreement, that is, he will be replaced by a Free Democrat politician.

Interior Minister Sees No 'Crisis'

LD2411152395 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Gabor Fodor's resignation from the post of minister of culture and education does not necessarily mean that a government crisis is evolving since the government's continuous operation can be guaranteed, Interior Minister Gabor Kuncze has said. The leaders of the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] knew that the education minister was considering his resignation, so they prepared for the fact that someone would have to take over the ministry's direction. It would, however, be too early to make this person's name public, Kuncze said.

The situations of Gabor Fodor and [Finance Minister] Lajos Bokros cannot be treated in the same way, since Fodor did not offer but announce his resignation, so Prime Minister Gyula Horn had no choice but to accept it.

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Izetbegovic Comments on All Aspects of Agreement

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[Studio interview with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, by unidentified correspondent on 22 November — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent] Good evening, Bosnia- Herzegovina; good evening, Sarajevo. The guest of Bosnia-Herzegovina television's first news bulletin is Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency. Mr. President, good evening and welcome. I presume you are tired. We have just seen [words indistinct] of our bulletin that the Sarajevans today gave you a warm welcome, which has not often been the case before because of the war.

[Izetbegovic] As far as I know it was a completely spontaneous welcome and of course I was pleased to have been given such a warm welcome [words indistinct] a fine day [words indistinct].

[Correspondent] Before we look at the report of your speech once again, as it deserves it, your speech in Dayton last night perhaps [words indistinct] what happened in Dayton, the end of the peace talks.

[Izetbegovic] It would be best to make a list of what is good and what is bad, as some things are not good, and with which we are not happy. What is good is that the survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina was finally and fully confirmed, regulated, and fixed: Bosnia-Herzegovina as a single and sovereign state, which has its international status and UN membership and established institutions, which ensure the functioning of the state. In addition, there is the central bank with a single currency, which we were not so sure about, although it was planned to request it, but we were not sure if we were going to get it. All three sides agreed to this. [sentence as heard]

There will be a three-member presidency — a more rational set-up, if I may say so — a president, and two vice presidents. A president will be elected by a majority vote in direct elections. A republican government will have six to seven ministers. As you know, the federal government will be separate, according to another agreement. A parliament will have 57 members, of which 42 will reflect the political situation in the republic, consisting of political parties. The rest will form an upper house — as it was temporarily named in the working document — which will protect national interests. Finally, we will have a constitutional court, and we must be satisfied with this.

As for the maps, we can be satisfied with the solution for Krajina. I think we should also be satisfied with the solution for Sarajevo, and to a somewhat lesser degree with the solution for Gorazde. We expected and asked for more. However, efforts will be made to lift the blockade of Gorazde. Likewise, the road in the south, east of Konjic and Mostar, is being moved so that these two cities and this road in general will be in a much better position. We have the same situation in the north — the Olovo-Kladanj road will be free.

Now I ought to give a list of things with which we are not satisfied. As for the constitutional arrangements, we are afraid that the functioning of these constitutional bodies could be hampered because of widespread demands for a concensus, parity, right to veto, and other things, and there could be attempts in some cases to block the work of these bodies, although certain relief mechanisms have been envisaged.

As for the maps, we are not satisfied with the solution for the corridor — and the people must know what it is all about — the status quo has remained there.

[Correspondent] The Brcko-Posavina corridor?

[Izetbegovic] Yes. We went to Dayton firmly convinced to resolve Brcko. We failed and at one point the talks entered a critical stage and were about to break down. We then found a solomonic solution — to resolve the question of Brcko and the corridor by arbitration in a year's time. The status quo will remain in the meantime. We are not satisfied with this solution. We are not pleased with having to return territory at the last moment, to accept the status quo (?on Mt Ozren), so that it is not completely evacuated, which would be necessary for the functioning of the railway from Ploce to Tuzla. At present it is cut at Doboj. It was not like this originally. As we controlled slightly over 51 percent of territory, and as the Americans — above all, at the request of the Serb side — did not support us in this, we had to return and in some way rearrange our territory to make it 51 percent.

In order to do that we had to abandon the conquest of the whole of Mt. Ozren and leave it as is. Mt. Ozren will remain as it is, which means that the railway line is partly under control. We are not satisfied with this solution. As for the rest, we can say we are relatively satisfied.

These would be the good and the bad points, speaking in general terms. This is in addition, of course, to the upcoming lifting of the embargo, a substantial aid package for the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina, a special program for the return of refugees, which will no doubt be encouraged by the host countries, and the means with which the refugees can start a new life, and of course an election system — with regard to which our concept of so-called direct elections — has won in full,

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compared to indirect elections on which the Serb side insisted. These would be the good and the bad points.

I would suggest that you organize a series of roundtables and talks so that many details of the aforementioned can be explained to the people. I forgot to mention the question of Sarajevo, which is particularly important. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Our guest on Bosnia-Herzegovina Television news is the president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mr. Izetbegovic, I propose that we continue going through the details point by point as far as possible, to make sense of all that happened in Dayton. Sarajevo is at the center of attention. In your first statement yesterday, you told us that the municipalities of Ilidza, Ilijas, Hadzici, and Vogosca are being returned to a united Sarajevo. You perhaps failed to mention it, but our main concern here today was the question of Grbavica. However, the whole question of a united Sarajevo — what does this imply; what is the extent of the territory; what will come under the control of the legitimate authorities?

[Izetbegovic] I thought that it was understood — Grbavica is in Sarajevo. What kind of united Sarajevo would it be if Grbavica remained under the control of the Chetniks? Grbavica is included, it is a constituent part of the urban part of the city, and by the urban part of the city we understand primarily the part from Bembasa, from Kozja Cuprija to Ilidza, along one axis, and along the other the part from Trebevic up toward, let us say, Vogosca. That is the urban part of the city, and that includes Grbavica; and of course — and I repeat for those who did not hear it yesterday — this includes Ilidza, the whole municipality of Ilidza, and Ilijas, Hadzici, and Vogosca, which makes possible, most importantly, all communications between Sarajevo and the north, and the communication lines to the south, including the railway junction and the airport.

[Correspondent] Does this mean that Lukavica, Kasindol, what are those districts, (?and Vojkovici)?

[Izetbegovic] They are being attached to Pale — that was something we could not get. We insisted on that as well, of course, but that is roughly the demarcation line at present, so that those three districts are being included in the Pale municipality and remain under control, under temporary control of the Serb authorities. I would like to say that the Americans were rather surprised at our insistence on these borders. I pointed out that we are talking about one state, and that is a fact. We should not be too dismayed that certain areas have been temporarily left out, we are not saying goodbye to these areas, we are not giving anything over to anyone, we are not drawing definite lines anywhere. However, it is of course our great interest, in view of the fact that there is no freedom in the Serb-held areas, that a form of terror reigns there, to remove any village from that situation as soon as possible. Those areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina which have temporarily remained, they will with God's help and through our struggle, our work above all, through education — this is the most important thing in our future efforts, we have fought for this with a gun in our hands, perhaps we should show the same vigor in education — I believe that we will be able to overcome this and integrate Bosnia as a whole. So, those areas which are at present, temporarily, still in a way under what I would call occupation, will, if God is willing, be liberated.

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct] we both discussed the question of Mt. Trebevic and the separation lines.

[Izetbegovic] As far as Mt. Trebevic is concerned, certain roads need to be clearly defined. We remain in disagreement with the Serb side. Our cartographers are still working up there, trying to precisely define the separation lines. Although we had 23 days at our disposal, our lawyers had to regulate some 600 provisions on top of the maps. The map covers 800 kms. Every part of it has to be clarified. In this respect [words indistinct]. It is known for certain that the border goes behind Grbavica along the Lukavica road. It then ascends toward Trebevic -- I am not quite sure where — although this must be of particular interest for the Sarajevans. Some people in Tuzla may not perhaps be interested in its precise location, but we are very interested in it. We asked the Americans to ensure that the positions are such that the city cannot be directly overlooked from above. We will see how all this will turn out. In any case, the unity of the city has been secured. This is in the agreement.

[Correspondent] We will not assess the whole map, but let's go from Sarajevo to Gorazde. The corridor for Gorazde is of great interest.

[Izetbegovic] It lies north of Trnovo. Unfortunately it does not include the town of Trnovo, although it was in the original plan and we fought for 10 days for such an option. It lies north of Trnovo. The U.S. generals, who will form part of the future forces, drew up a road, in fact an old road which they will renew and which will stretch somewhere north of Trnovo and lead toward Ustikolina. Parts of the road will be reconstructed and parts built anew. They have promised to finance the whole project.

In the meantime, until the road is built — they will need two to three months to complete it — they will use the existing roads for their and our needs, since the agreement was reached on the unrestricted use of all

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road. This road, when completed, will finally link the Sarajevo area with Gorazde.

At this moment I can say that the road lies north of Trnovo, that it is 7-8 kms wide at its narrowest point, widening to 10-20 kms elsewhere, and widening further toward the free part of Gorazde.

[Correspondent] Is this sufficient for the survival and development of Gorazde?

[Izetbegovic] We think it is. We could not get any more, but we think the road will be safe. Of course, IFOR, the new forces for the implementation, will be deployed here in the first year. They will be ensuring the safety of the road and of the Gorazde region itself. And our army will also be ensuring its safety.

[Correspondent] A question in connection with the Gorazde area: has something been changed in the town itself?

[Izetbegovic] A positive change is that we now only control the right bank of the River Drina, somewhere in the town itself, as you know. However, that strip of land is to be extended all the way up to Ustikolina. We will have a 20-kms strip of land on the right bank of the Drina up to Gorazde, which will facilitate the construction of some hydro-electric power plants. This now enables us to do that.

[Correspondent] Let us see a video report from Sarajevo today. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mr. President, the main issue, as we shall hear in our roundup of international reactions a little later, is the implementation of this agreement. There has been much doubt in this regard. Everybody is saying that it will be very tough. Do you know any details? For instance, what is the deadline for the unified Sarajevo?

[Izetbegovic] The deadline for the withdrawal of all forces is 30 days. However, our forces do not have to withdraw. We are not withdrawing anywhere. The deadline for the withdrawal of Karadzic's forces is the period of 30 days from the day of signing. The period began today. If that does not happen... [pauses] It has been assumed that they will comply.

The IFOR [peace enforcement forces] which are coming now — they are called IFOR — are essentially different, not only in their name but also in their function and nature from UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]. In practice, they are NATO forces. There will be around 60,000 troops. One third of them will be Americans, under the command of a U.S. NATO officer. I think I had the opportunity to meet the man when he paid us a visit. They should repel all resistance by local troops.

Of course, a question now arises as to what will happen if the whole of Karadzic's army refuses to withdraw — there were some reports to that effect today. Then, we will follow a completely different path. Then there is another option. IFOR is not coming to crush such resistance — we have to tell this to our people, we do not wish to mislead anyone. They also told us this in clear terms. Our arms embargo is to be lifted. I think that in that case, it would be up to us to do [passage indistinct].

In that case, Karadzic's Serbs would be absolutely isolated. I do not think they stand any chance of defending themselves. I think that they would be met with a military defeat, and I believe that they will not let themselves in for such an adventure. Maybe they will hesitate for several days, but I think they will decide to leave that territory which does not belong to them — according to this agreement — in a peaceful way; otherwise, war will break out. We will have to resolve this issue militarily, and I think we will be capable of solving it by military means.

[Correspondent] I was interested in what you mentioned briefly as a second variant: we have everything agreed upon and decided, but in the event of resistance by the Serbs here...

[Izetbegovic, interrupting] General resistance. Local resistance is the responsibility of IFOR, local resistance here and there, that will be for IFOR, but if it comes to general resistance, if Karadzic's Serbs refused to implement this — and Milosevic would not succeed in persuading them otherwise — I believe that only the second variant would remain, that is, the military solution. In other words, we would be armed because the [word indistinct] embargo will be lifted, we will be assisted by the international community in doing this, we will be able to count on its political and military assistance in this respect, while they on the other hand will be completely isolated. I believe that our chances of resolving the problem in Bosnia by military means would be complete.

[Correspondent] That is what I was going to ask: Is this going to happen within the 51/49 percent [agreement], or [words indistinct]

[Izetbegovic] No, not now. In the event of their resistance.

[Correspondent] That means that there is no agreement...

[Izetbegovic, interrupting] It does not exist, there is no such agreement. I have already said, but I will repeat it once more. In the event that they reject the implementation and do not accept the agreement, then,

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after a reasonable period of waiting, we will cancel this agreement in its entirety.

[Correspondent] It is probably no coincidence, exactly half a year ago you said that by 25 November, in other words in three days time, the siege of Sarajevo would be either militarily or politically lifted. That has been achieved.

[Izetbegovic] I must be honest and say that I could not have foreseen before it happened [words indistinct] nevertheless it has come about because certain factors were working in that direction. We knew that Sarajevo certainly could not remain in this situation and that if there had not been such a political solution as has just been realized in Dayton, we would have done this militarily, we would have militarily liberated Sarajevo. In this case, it has been achieved without casualties, around the [word indistinct] table; in the other case, it would have had to be carried out on the battlefield, probably with great losses. We had the forces, we had a plan for doing this by military means; however, the U.S. initiative began in August and somewhat changed our plans; otherwise we would have done this by military means. We would not have left Sarajevo under siege, and I believe that we would have weighed up our calculations and particularly after the experience which we gained with the offensive in the spring, we knew what their weak points are, what we had to do and what adjustments we had to make to our strategy to liberate the city, and we would have succeeded in this. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] [words indistinct] Mr. President, I said that people from other areas, as we have seen here, are less satisfied than the citizens of Sarajevo.

[Izetbegovic] It was my view that this agreement would satisfy those whose domicile homes are on free territories. Of course, refugees cannot be satisfied with the agreement. But we reasoned, we maintained that there is enough room in Bosnia-Herzegovina for all of us. There is enough room, indeed. This agreement secures an expansion of territory which enables all refugees to return. Those people whose homes remain on the other side should naturally return here and get land, a house and a job, etc., here, so we can together struggle in a peaceful way to return these territories. A continuation of war — given the fact that war is an uncontrollable process, you do not know what is going to happen by next spring in Serbia, in Russia, in Europe, and so on — a continuation of war might end in victory, but it also might bring about a totally uncertain result, it might perhaps bring about new refugees.

Well, you see what happened in July, that grave tragedy in Srebrenica. We were not allowed to trigger another Srebrenica. For war is a process you cannot control, particularly in this turbulent political situation in the world. I believe we now can improve our chances of returning our refugees in a peaceful way rather than by war.

[Correspondent] Is it not strange that at the beginning of the war, when we were at our weakest and unprepared for war, we were more optimistic, we believed in a definite, final, film-style victory, i.e., that we would enter free towns on our tanks, our army, our banners? As the war dragged on, we seem to have somehow become more realistic, realizing that every war ends up in peace negotiations, signatures under peace deals. It is now therefore not realistic to talk about victory and defeat. Let us nevertheless try to define who is closer to victory in this war.

[Izetbegovic] Let me tell you first that our optimism in the first days of the war was to some extent fuelled by our delusions as regards help. We did not know then that [words indistinct] tanks which we did not have. [words indistinct] Today, we have the odd tank. At that time, we hardly had [word indistinct] some 10 pieces. We have about 100 pieces today, that is no secret.

We were counting on the world's help then, something that completely failed to materialize. This is a shocking fact, the fact that the world could tolerate such a conflict. We have nevertheless learned something from all of this, and so have some other people. I have to [word indistinct]. We thought then that the world would help us and that the world would not tolerate genocide, aggression, [words indistinct] and that Bosnia would be free.

As you know, we were left to our own devices in our struggle. Even Croatia [words indistinct] shortly before the attack on Bosnia-Herzegovina. The HVO continued to fight for some time. We were left totally alone to fight, to even fight two sides at some point. Hence, as I said, we have learned that war is not something to play with, that war is something unpredictable. If we can, and I believe that at this moment we can, stop this pendulum of war in this situation as it is and try, by a completely different set of means, peaceful political means, take the rest of Bosnia. I believe this is something we have to do.

[Correspondent] Whose goals are closer to materialization at this moment?

[Izetbegovic] None of the sides, realistically speaking, has achieved its goals. We have not achieved our goals, either. We have nevertheless achieved more of our goals and I believe that we are moving toward these goals. The other side is further away from its goals and I believe

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that it is moving in reverse, its position is on the decline, in a descending situation. If we take account of the time factor, we shall achieve our goals.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, we are now faced with a completely new form of war; that is, a struggle for a single republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In your assessment, are we ready for a long political struggle for the reintegration of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Izetbegovic] I think we are absolutely ready for it. There are several conditions for it. One is a legal condition. Bosnia- erzegovina has survived, at least formally. Realistically, it only exists in parts of the Federation, and absolutely realistically only in the territories under our army's control. I think it will very quickly spread to the parts which are under HVO control on the basis of the agreements we already have. We can therefore say that it has been realized in the entire territory of the Federation, in a territory slightly larger than 50 percent, in parts which are very important from the point of view of the future integration of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The legal framework has been secured.

What do we realistically have? We have the people who [word indistinct]. We have a democratic system which is infinitely superior to that wasteland over there, and which cannot lose in competition with it. We have the aid which has been promised to this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina and which will not be delivered to the other part if human rights and rights to freedom, democracy, political parties, freedom of the media, etc., are not observed. We know what it means for the other system. The introduction of that system practically means a death sentence for the type of regime over there. That would practically mean the return of refugees to their homes.

We think that by restoring the pre-aggression demographic situation, at least to a certain extent, our battle-hardened people would channel their energy into different things. Instead of the war, they would channel their energy into the development of the economy or education, they would create a model for living, a model for society which in some 10 to 20 years' time would score a victory [word indistinct].

[Correspondent] So far as I can see, you are not mentioning any purely national concept.

[Izetbegovic] I do not think we should be mentioning it much. We are already mentioning the superiority of our model of power. If we want Bosnia-Herzegovina, we must not emphasize the national issue too much. We must try and be Bosnians, if possible, never forgetting our traditions. No one must forget their traditions. Being a good Bosnian does not mean one has to give up one's traditions. It can be the other way round. Everyone should nurture their traditions while at the same time nurturing the ideal of the Bosnia-Herzegovina state which is based on democracy and which represents an open and tolerant society, as it was for hundreds of years. We do not find this difficult. We are used to living like this. We are used to seeing people whose names are different from ours, whose festivals are different from ours, etc. We do not find it difficult. We were attending classes together with the people who had different names, a different religion or nationality. None of this seems strange to us.

I have just returned from the United States. To tell you the truth, I admired the system in which racial integration is almost completed, although the blacks are still dissatisfied, of course. But this stems from another fact, since they have been slightly behind in education. As soon as their level of education reaches that of the white people, there will be almost no differences between them. There are 50 big cities in the United States with black mayors.

I maintain that we should nurture the form of Bosnian patriotism in which a state is not created at the expense of wiping away the past, a road which leads to nowhere.

[Correspondent] President Izetbegovic will speak for a few more minutes here on the daily news program of Bosnia-Herzegovina Television. Mr. President, we have heard that a signing ceremony for the agreements initialled yesterday is to take place in Paris in the middle of this month. Further stronger ratification of this agreement lies ahead not only in Paris but here in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Izetbegovic] The initialling of the agreement took place yesterday. The signing is to take place in about 10 or 15 days. In the meantime, parliament will meet to ratify this agreement, which means that those who sign will have the backing of a parliamentary decision.

But apart from this, at some point, most probably after the Paris conference — in other words, in December or January — we intend — we will facilitate the holding of a referendum on the free part of our territory. This would be a consultative referendum, not a referendum which would decide, but one which would give us the people's views about this agreement. Naturally, for the people to make such a decision, they must be well informed in order to be able to answer yes or no to what we have worked on in Dayton.

Both I and [Bosnian Prime Minister] Silajdzic and [Bosnian Foreign Minister] Sacerbegovic and [Bosnian Presidency member] Miro Lazovic — we would all be interested to see what the people have to say to...

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[pauses] if we have this complete package, what would the people say to it if they were in our place. I believe that a few days ago, it was five years since [words indistinct]. The people, despite the fact that there is a war, need to be invited to say what they think.

Here, for example, we have a program called peace, a peace package. Now let us hear what the people think about this peace package. Would they, as do we, say that this package is acceptable. We said yes to it and initialled it yesterday. Of course, it now goes to our parliament. So we intend to put it to the parliament, see it signed in Paris, and hold a consultative referendum. This is what we will do. Of course, if we hold a referendum, our lawyers would have to approve this, but I believe that from a political point of view, this would be very useful.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, we respect your time. We know that you must certainly be tired. How much sleep did you actually get all this time? We heard that you got half an hour's sleep per night.

[Izetbegovic] It was not exactly half an hour. Let us say that it was particularly difficult over the past four or five days. When I add up how much I have slept over the past four or five days, then it was three hours one night, two hours the next night, the night before last — seven hours, and last night — one hour on the plane. So when you add it all up, I have had about 10 or 12 hours sleep in four days.

[Correspondent] You [words indistinct].

[Izetbegovic] Thank you very much.

[Correspondent] Finally, nothing is agreed until everything is agreed, as they say. Perhaps we should put this another way: nothing is agreed unless it can be implemented.

[Izetbegovic] Absolutely. We said this there. Our delegation will... [pauses] If I can put it this way, and you should all repeat this parrot-like so that the world may know and so that the other side may know — we (?cannot achieve anything without) implementation. Unless there is implementation, the whole thing is worthless. If this does not happen, we would, of course, seek the other option. We would then have the world on our side. The embargo would be lifted and we would have to resolve matters in a different way. We do not want it this way. We want things to be resolved peacefully and I believe that they can be resolved peacefully, but we do have other possibilities.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, thank you very much. Foreign reporters are waiting for you. We at Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio- Television thank you for speaking to us first on return from your state visit.

[Izetbegovic] Thank you very much.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much.

Sacirbegovic on Partition, 'War Criminals'

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[Interview with Foreign Minister Mohamed Sacirbegovic by Baron Branomir Brljevic in Zagreb; date not given: "War Criminals Should Be Punished" — first two paragraphs are ABC introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb — For the first time since the war in the Balkans ended, peace seems to have a chance. However, despite all the agreements signed with great difficulty, peace could collapse even immediately after the signing of the agreement on ending the war initialed yesterday. During this final and extremely delicate stage in which the differences of opinion between the sides have, in general, persisted, we spoke with Foreign Minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina Mohamed Sacirbegovic, who made known his resignation in Dayton last Saturday. Sacirbegovic wishes to hand over his post to a Croat.

It is not yet known whether his replacement will be Kresimir Zubak or another Croat politician of the Bosnian-Croat federation. In any event, Mohamed Sacirbegovic is staying in politics and would like to continue to contribute to a satisfactory solution for all sides.

[Brljevic] What was discussed during the past few hours? Who was least prepared to make concessions?

[Sacirbegovic] The Serbs, of course, who are still superior in weapons and military equipment because the international community has not lifted the arms embargo on Bosnia. The Serbs have their own arms industry, and have even been exporting these weapons abroad during this time. The Serbs want over half the total territory, although before the war they comprised 33 percent of the total population. They were insisting on an outlet to the sea through Prelava, south of Dubrovnik. Hence they were demanding an area which was not Serb but Croat, like the free area on the plain of the Save around Orasje, which they were demanding unconditionally from the Croats in order to extend the corridor toward the Serb enclave of Banja Luka. They were demanding the cities of Mrkonjak Grad, Kljuk, Brcko, and part of Sarajevo, which are in areas that have always belonged to us because of the percentage of the population. Obviously, they also wished to secure a corridor. Moreover, they

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were the ones least prepared to make concessions either to the Croats or to ourselves. Until the last moment, there was a possibility that we would all be left empty-handed.

[Brljevic] Was it in fact a struggle over the sharing out of the territory?

[Sacirbegovic] Of course not! Nor was it a war between religions or a war between ethnic groups in the most primitive sense of the term. It was basically a struggle between ideologies; between an open ideology which advocates a democratic, civil, open, and plural state and that of an ultranationalist, closed, and xenophobic state. It is also a matter of people who must be foreign in their own country, with their own language, and in their own land.

[Brljevic] What is your opinion of the fact that it was necessary to find urgently a solution for Bosnia precisely in the period prior to the elections, but long enough in advance?

[Sacirbegovic] As I have said before, the elections were decisive, but there were also other matters of political and military stability in the world. There was no desire to resolve the problem on moral grounds; otherwise, it would not have been possible to reach this perversion of the main culprit, Milosevic, being able to sit down and decide as one of the main interlocutors. Strategic and political interests were decisive for the rapid search for a solution which, moreover, came extremely belittle in order to be able to have a chance. It will take a very long time to put into practice even the soundest decisions. NATO's air strikes showed that a solution could be found rapidly, if it was so wished.

[Brljevic] Has a partitioning of Bosnia been more or less clearly effected?

[Sacirbegovic] I am afraid that the edifice of peace has begun to be built from the roof down. In fact, there was a desire to find a solution for Bosnia which would lead to partitioning, but Bosnia was never divided, and I am quite convinced that it will not work this time, either. This edifice will collapse. For short-term goals, this solution seems to be the only one possible, but just in the short term. However, while there is a desire to reach agreement with war criminals such as Mladic, Karadzic, and Milosevic, a house will be being built from the roof down, and the house must collapse. In the first place, these people should be tried by the UN war tribunal, and new interlocutors on the Serb side must be sought. There must still be people among the Bosnian Serbs who share our view of the country. Despite all the differences of opinion, everybody — the Bosnian Croats, too — wants a modern and civil state in which the Serbs, like ourselves and the Croats, will remain what they have always been — one of the state's three representative peoples.

[Brljevic] It is being said that the solution has been found. Is this a real solution?

[Sacirbegovic] I do not believe so, even though I would like it, even at the price of not everything that we want being accepted. It would depend on a democratic atmosphere in Bosnia which would certainly improve spontaneously in the course of time, but this atmosphere cannot be achieved through the negotiations alone. The war criminals should be punished and the peoples' and individuals' rights guaranteed and assured in the long term, so that they will persist over and above the temporary interests of some countries of the international community; otherwise, it will remain a good deal for the boys on Wall Street and an unjust and temporary solution for the peoples living in Bosnia. The Bosnian state cannot function without the threat of force and without incisive arguments, which, for instance, showed their strength during NATO's air strikes. Right without power is ridiculous; power without right is a dictatorship. What must be secured is a right which will be protected by power. It cannot be said in advance whether or not this will be achieved. It depends on to what extent the United States and other countries of the free world are prepared to use power in order to satisfy rights; that is, to use the Constitution.

[Brljevic] Has Croatia learned this lesson from experience?

[Sacirbegovic] That was clear in Western Slavonia and in the liberation of Krajina. Through our cooperation, we will have to continue to seek to recover our region, and the Croats will have to reincorporate Eastern Slavonia. The Croats certainly also desire this, like ourselves, but the Serbs must first oust the politicians who have cast them into the abyss. Then it will not be necessary to specify everything unconditionally; rather, many things will be resolved naturally and spontaneously. but there should be a balance of weapons and equipment, because otherwise Pascal's maxim which I cited earlier would be borne out.

[Brljevic] But the conflicts and disagreements between Muslims and Croats also continue, do they not?

[Sacirbegovic] That is not true. Any disagreements are awaiting a solution, and many people are waiting patiently for them to be resolved. You people immediately spread the most insignificant reports about unimportant incidents. I am quite convinced that there will be no resumption of the conflict between Muslims and Croats because we are all interested in peace. We will easily

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find peace through the appropriate laws and the means for putting those laws into practice. Only after we Muslims and Croats recover the area of Bosnia occupied by the Serbs will we talk about how we can resolve our differences. In any event, the area which has been liberated belongs to all of us — the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina — and the rights of individuals and the peoples should be guaranteed throughout the area.

[Brljevic] Does the road from Bosnia toward Europe pass through Croatia, as Croatian President Tudjman recently said (to Chirac)?

[Sacirbegovic] That is not true; at least, I cannot believe that he said it in the way in which it has been interpreted. The road from Croatia toward Europe passes through Bosnia and vice versa. Both peoples belong to the community of the European peoples, and it is ridiculous to call this into question.

Serb Leadership Accepts Dayton Agreement

LD2311175095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1727 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 23 Nov (TANJUG) — The leaderships of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serb Republic met in Belgrade today, TANJUG has learned, to discuss the Dayton peace agreement. They assessed the agreement as a historic document in the interest of peace.

The Serb Republic leadership announced it was accepting the Dayton agreement and that, despite a number of solutions which were painful for the Serb Republic, the republic would implement it in its entirety, as well as meet all the responsibilities resulting from it, while possible negative consequences would be overcome through the efforts of the entire community and help from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The meeting was attended by: President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Zoran Lilic, President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic, President of Montenegro Momir Bulatovic, Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, and FRY Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic, and, from the Serb Republic, President Radovan Karadzic, Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic, Serb Republic Vice Presidents Biljana Plavsic and Nikola Koljevic, Government President Dusan Kozic, Prime Minister-designate Rajko Kasagic, Minister for Foreign Affairs Aleksa Buha, Minister of Internal Affairs Tomo Kovac and Major-General Zdravko Tolimir, deputy army chief of general staff of the Serb Republic.

Serbs in Sarajevo Await 'Explanation' of Accord

AU2411115395 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 23 Nov 95

[Report by Draga Grubic]

[FBIS Translated Text] The signing of the Dayton peace agreement has recently engrossed the citizens of Serb Sarajevo as the event on which they pinned their hope and survival. Now that the results of the talks have been revealed, the people of Sarajevo expect official explanation of the agreement that is to determine their destiny as well as the future of the second largest Serb town in former Yugoslavia. Neither the joint Croat-Muslim enemy, NATO jets, nor rapid reaction mortars managed to send the locals into exile and they are not intimidated by the Dayton agreement either.

Sarajevo Serbs Oppose Dayton Peace Plan

LD2311210095 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Over the past few days, the event which has attracted most attention by the people of Serb-held Sarajevo, and on which they rested their hopes and survival, was the signing of the peace agreement in Dayton. Now that the outcome of the negotiations has been made known, the people of Sarajevo are waiting to hear the official explanation of the agreement which will decide their fate and the fate of their city.

[Begin recording] [Katic, identified by caption as Serb Sarajevo municipal official] As for the Dayton agreement, what we have heard so far from the media, well, we are not satisfied, especially the people of Serb Sarajevo cannot be satisfied. To be more specific, we have not had any detailed information from our political leadership about what concrete arrangements were agreed upon in Dayton, and we are waiting for our political leadership to explain the details. My message to the Serb population in Serb Sarajevo and the Serb municipality of Novo Sarajevo is that everything is under our control, that there is no reason for them to fear anything.

[Unidentified correspondent] How do you, as a member of the Serb Army, see the Dayton agreement?

[Bozidar Tomic, identified by caption as a Serb Army officer] In view of the fact that ever since the beginning of the war the army and the people have been one and the same, that the army has been here to protect its people, and vice versa, the same will happen this time round. There is no doubt that the army is prepared and determined to persevere in achieving our initial goal, i.e., to have our own state and to protect the people and our ultimate goal of linking with Yugoslavia.

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[Correspondent] How do you see the Dayton agreement?

[Unidentified man] Well, we will probably learn in about 15-20 days what it is all about. I think the people still do not know enough about the situation.

[Unidentified woman] What, to give them Sarajevo? It is Serb, and no one else's. We will never give up Sarajevo, dead or alive, let everyone know that. If I were able to talk to both Clinton and Christopher, like our delegation that went to negotiate, I would tell them not to play with the Serbs.

[Unidentified man] I am sad about Mount Trebevic. I have heard people say that Alija Izetbegovic wants half of it. I am emotionally attached to these mountains and valleys, and to Park cafe [in Muslim-held Sarajevo], and could not accept it belonging to someone else.

[Unidentified man] I am confused.

[Unidentified man] There is no Serb who would leave this, and leave the Serb land behind. I have buried 11 of my dearest here over the last year, and now I am expected to leave them behind. No way, God forbid.

[Correspondent] The population of the second largest Serb town in former Yugoslavia has not been driven away by the combined Muslim- Croat enemy, by NATO aircraft, or Rapid Reaction Force shells. And they will not be frightened of the signatures from Dayton. [end recording]

Kasagic Says Accord Allows Degree of Independence

LD2211205495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1952 GMT 22 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 22 Nov (SRNA) — Rajko Kasagic, premier-designate of the Government of the Serb Republic, said today that, under the Dayton agreement, the Serb Republic has acquired "outlying areas which are rich in agriculture," and that it "has also secured some woodland and mineral resources, something that is a good basis for organizing normal life."

"We do not have enough information about Sarajevo, but its status will have to be worked out sometime in the future," Kasagic stressed. He added that "the constitutional principles provide for a certain degree of independence."

In his words, "we cannot be satisfied with a central bank and single currency, because this could impede our economic links with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the world."

"However, I hope that all of us will build, in a Serbian and harmonious way, a modern state in the Serb Republic, so that modern technology can reach its territories," Kasagic stressed in a statement for SRNA.

Plavsic States Serb Unification Ultimate Goal

LD2311181095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1952 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 22 Nov (SRNA) — Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the Serb Republic, has said that under the Dayton agreement the question of Sarajevo "was resolved in a very bad way" thus creating a possibility for "clashes to break out there like the ones at the beginning of the war." She said that "all the people and every child in the [Sarajevo] area deserved to be dEcorated as a hero."

"Unfortunately, we also did not get a considerable part of ethnic Serb areas in [Bosnian] Krajina and it has been forgotten that parts of the Republic of Serb Krajina were previously given to the Croats," she said. She added: "However, the Serb Republic will have a chance to live as a state — this depends on us, on economic programs, and the care for families of killed and wounded soldiers."

"The way we will be linked with the union [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] depends on those who will represent us and they will have to be exceptionally intelligent people, incorruptible and with a strong sense of national identity," Plavsic said.

"Our ultimate goal is the unification of all Serb lands and in more favorable conditions in the world and in Yugoslavia itself this will happen," she said in conclusion.

Arbitration on Brcko Corridor Detailed

LD2311202995 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Two days after the signing of the peace agreement still not all details contained in the Dayton package have been made public. There are still many uncertainties and unclear points and one of these is the question of the fate of the Brcko corridor which, it was agreed, would be decided by international arbitration. The agreement on the corridor reads:

1. The sides agreed to be bound by arbitration with regard to the contested sections of the borders of the two entities in the Brcko region which are indicated on the map.

2. Six months at the latest after the agreement comes into force, the Muslim-Croat Federation will appoint one

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arbitrator and the Bosnian Serb Republic will appoint one arbitrator. The third arbitrator will be selected on the basis of an agreement between representatives of the two sides within 30 days. If they fail to agree, the third arbitrator will be appointed by the International Court of Justice.

3. The third arbitrator will be the chairman of the arbitration court.

4. Unless agreement is reached to the contrary the region indicated in this article will remain under the present system of administration.

5. The arbitrators are to reach their decision no later than one year after this agreement comes into force.

Silajdzic on Importance of Plan's Implementation

AU2211203295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Nov 95

[Report by Samir Huseinovic with statement by Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Sarajevo on 22 November — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Silajdzic, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] We are hoping for the best and the best means implementation. We need implementation. We need NATO forces here. We have a peace paper, but everything is in implementation now.

[Huseinovic] Speaking on the status of Sarajevo, the prime minister pointed out that this was a free city. It will be so if the agreement is implemented. I hope that it is a free city. What is on paper must be realized, he said.

Urges Prompt NATO Deployment

AU2311182595 Paris AFP in English 1804 GMT 23 Nov 95

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Nov 23 (AFP) — Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic warned Thursday [23 November] that if the Dayton peace plan signed by Balkan presidents this week is not implemented "without hesitation," war could quickly return to the republic.

"The survival of the agreement depends on prompt implementation. If for any reason implementation begins and then stops that will make the agreement null and void. Its (success) depends on full implementation," Silajdzic told reporters.

Earlier Thursday, a Foreign Ministry official said Serb-held suburbs in the capital due to return to government control under the U.S.-brokered peace accord would be retaken by force if separatist hardliners refuse to comply with the terms of the agreement.

But in Belgrade, the TANJUG news agency later reported that Bosnian Serb leaders including Radovan Karadzic, in a meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, said they accepted the peace accord. [passage omitted]

"NATO implementing troops should come here immediately and do their job. We must have a force here, a respectable, impressive force and one that will deter all attempts to destroy the peace process. We have enough experience here to know that any hesitation may encourage those that oppose peace," the prime minister [Silajdzic] said. [passage omitted]

Says Plan Restores 'Integral State'

AU2311200195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Nov 95

[Report by Miralem Suskic on a news conference by Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Sarajevo on 23 November — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Suskic] Most of the questions, which is understandable, concerned the Dayton agreement. The prime minister first answered questions on the central bodies of authority, the voting system, and the reintegration of our country.

[Silajdzic] As far as the competences of the central bodies are concerned, we see this peace project, the plan that was initialed in Dayton, as a plan for the restoration of democratic Bosnia- Herzegovina, that is, the restoration of an integral state. The key element in the reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the reintegration of its unity and its development as an integral and unified state, is of course the recognition by the international community and now the recognition that we have from Serbia and Montenegro, that is, the recognition that Yugoslavia, as a neighboring country, has given to our integrity and sovereignty. These are authorized signatories, who have signed this on behalf of part of the Bosnian Serbs. This is the first element in the reintegration.

The second element in the reintegration is the fact that [words indistinct] democracy. There is no reintegration of the country without democracy. The truth is that we will have direct elections — so we will not have a delegated democracy, but direct elections — we fought for these, and won with great difficulties, I might add. We did not want a delegated democracy. We wanted a one-man- one-vote system, the direct vote of the people. It was very hard to achieve this and this is one of the reasons the Dayton talks went on for such a long time.

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However, the two entities will have separate elections. We wanted joint elections in all of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We could not get this, but we hope that it will be possible in the future. However, for the time being, we have agreed that all the political parties properly registered in Bosnia-Herzegovina will have the right to operate throughout the territory, which for me is one of the key elements in the reintegration of the country.

Another key element in the reintegration of the country is the central competences, that is, the competences of the central authorities. This is in answer to your question. So, fortunately for all the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, both in the Federation and in the occupied areas, democracy has prevailed and the concept of reintegration has won [passage indistinct].

However, there will be no peace without the forces to implement this agreement [words indistinct], and I hope that the international community [words indistinct] will not allow this peace agreement to go the way that all the others have. We hope that we will soon have the implementation force [words indistinct]. The arrival of NATO is a must [words indistinct] immediately after the signing of the agreement.

[Suskic] Among many questions [words indistinct].

[Silajdzic] That largely depends on us. I know and I am sure — I think that we are all sure, we all agree on this — that the vast majority of us, including those in the occupied territory, want peace, and that a group of people should not be allowed to spoil [passage indistinct] reconstruction of the country. This is a chance that we must not miss. So it depends on us. If we allow the group of people who created this tragedy to remain in their positions, to continue to lead people into war, if we continue to think war and not peace, then [words indistinct]. If we opt for peace in our hearts, as they say, and if we start thinking peace, then this project will succeed.

Karadzic, Sarajevo Bosnian Serb Officials Meet

AU2411130795 Paris AFP in English 1254 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Nov 24 (AFP) — Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic met Friday with senior officials of Sarajevo districts under Serb control.

These officials sharply criticized the peace agreement the warring Bosnian factions reached in Dayton, Ohio on Tuesday, and under which Serbs are to hand over neighborhoods they control in Sarajevo to the Moslem-Croat federation.

Karadzic on Thursday accepted the terms after meeting in Belgrade with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, who negotiated in Dayton on behalf of the Bosnian Serbs.

Milosevic Denies Making Comment on French Pilots

AU2211212595 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] During a short meeting on Mt. Jahorina yesterday between General Dragomir Milosevic, the commander of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps, and reporters, at which Gen. Milosevic briefed them on the current events in the theater of operations of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps, representatives of the [words indistinct] inquired about the state of the French pilots who had been downed above Pale.

After the meeting, Bosnia-Herzegovina television, which was present there, issued the disinformation that Gen. Milosevic had stated that the pilots were in a safe place and provided details concerning their health and whereabouts. Several media houses from the FRY and abroad issued the same information.

In order to prove the incorrectness of this report, the information service of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps has referred to the video footage of this meeting, which is available to all the media and from which it can be clearly seen that Gen. Milosevic did not speak about the above, but asked the following question: "Why are you asking me about the pilots? Why are you not asking me about how much harm they did to these people, how many civilians they killed, how many houses, schools, factories, and bridges they destroyed? If you ask me that, I will tell you all about it."

This instance of media manipulation with falsehoods ascribed to Gen. Milosevic clearly shows that pressures have not made the (?intensity) of the Serb army and the people [words indistinct], and confirms another disappointing fact, which is that it is this kind of information that sells best on the international market.

Gen. Dragomir Milosevic, the commander of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps, has expressed fierce protest and has stated that this report can only further complicate, rather than contribute, to the resolution of the situation in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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UN Envoy on Resolutions on Former Yugoslavia

LD2311223195 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Nov 95

[Telephone interview with Mario Nobilo, ambassador to the United Nations, in New York, by unidentified correspondent, in Zagreb—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] Croatia is particularly interested in the resolution on eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem. On the telephone line is Mario Nobilo, the ambassador of the Republic of Croatia to the United Nations in New York. Mr. Nobilo, what is the political significance of this resolution for Croatia?

[Nobilo] For Croatia, the most important resolution is the one on eastern Slavonia because it is at the moment the most important problem for Croatia, and especially because many details of the implementation of this agreement have not been worked out. No doubt it does not go into details yet because we are waiting for the decision of the world powers on sending NATO forces to implement the Bosnian package, on reconstruction and other details, but when an agreement in principle on this is reached, a similar solution will follow on for the implementation of the agreement on Eastern Slavonia to be agreed.

Yesterday we clearly stated that for us UNCRO (UN Confidence Restoration Operation), whose mandate runs out in a week, ceases to exist. We are aware that we are entering a vacuum, in which we are ready to consider the existing resources as the nucleus of future forces and mechanisms of implementation. However, we clearly stress that in this area the Croatian legal system, Croatian institutions, and Croatian control of the international borders must operate, as well as other elements of recovery and confidence-building on the ground that are a part of the agreement.

[Correspondent] Will the lifting of the arms embargo contribute to the balance in the region?

[Nobilo] Absolutely. Because the whole peace agreement is based on the achieved balance between, first of all, Serbia and Croatia, and especially between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina on the one side, and Serbia on the other. All the future agreements that are expected in Bonn [as heard] and later will be on the basis that there is no peace in the Balkans unless there is balance between the Croats on one side, and the Serbs on the other.

It is important to stress here that all the future agreements on peace in the region depend on the extension of the collective European security to this region, on the entry of Croatia into NATO's Partnership for Peace, and full integration of Croatia into European regional organizations.

(Correspondent) What is the Croatian position on the suspension of sanctions against the FRY?

[Nobilo] As I said, it was from the beginning a part of earlier agreements. Our view is that, once peace is established, there is no reason for sanctions to exist. Of course, this resolution has a mechanism that makes sure there is no absolute lifting of sanctions until the implementation of the peace agreement. The exhaustion of the region is not in the interests of our own economic recovery and at this moment it is much more important for us to prevent all attempts by any country to accommodate Serbia before the expected agreement on all aspects of the succession is implemented.

[Correspondent] Before we end this conversation, do you have any special message for the Croatian public from the very source of information, from New York?

[Nobilo] Even from this distance I can feel a certain mistrust on the part of the Croatian public, especially toward the agreement on eastern Slavonia based on past bitter experiences with the two mandates of the peacekeeping forces. But I must stress that this has been achieved in completely different conditions, with a new balance of forces, with much stronger international guarantees, and the role of the United States in the implementation of the whole package. Completely new mechanisms have been created, such as NATO, the recovery, etc. [as heard], and it is difficult to believe that such an agreement will fail. If it does fail then Croatia and the international community have enough strength to impose it and we should not doubt its final outcome. I think we must always honor our heroes and our innocent victims, but the war is over and we must transform the negative energy into positive because hatred is destructive. We must think in terms of peace and the future, the prosperity of the now free and, without any doubt, strong state of Croatia.

Commentary Notes Reaction to Dayton Agreement

LD2311202095 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] There will still be many different views, dilemmas, and even resistance in Croatia concerning the Dayton peace agreement, especially from the opposition. Here is a commentary from our editorial desk:

[Video shows announcer reading commentary] If there is one conclusion which can be reached with certainty two days after the initialling of the Dayton agreement, it

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is the fact that all three delegations expressed satisfaction with the agreement. Only yesterday it was unclear who was making such claims in order to gain popularity among their own people, who was interpreting the agreement to suit his own ends, and who genuinely considered it a success.

However, after the first reactions from influential political players and the domestic and international public, many things are becoming clearer today. Although the official Belgrade, including all the opposition except the radical Vojislav Seselj, and no less radical, Seselj's namesake Kostunica, welcomed the agreement with enthusiasm, we have learned—after reactions from Serbian compatriots on the other side of the Drina—that the situation was not all that rosy.

The chief Bosnian Serb negotiator, Momcilo Krajisnik, has already threatened he will not accept the agreement because he did not take part in making it. [passage omitted]

In Sarajevo, Izetbegovic was greeted as a victor. This is understandable given that peace finally came to the long-suffering Sarajevo, which has also been given the status of a single city, the biggest success possible.

As for the other results, reactions far from reflect enthusiasm. Although Izetbegovic himself said that 80 percent of the demands made by the Muslim leadership had been met, a member of the same leadership, Nijaz Durakovic, claims that the Bosniaks and Bosnia-Herzegovina suffered the biggest loss, given that Bosnia-Herzegovina is now divided, saying he sees no reasons for a celebration.

Unlike official and public reactions of their neighbors, there has been no division in Croatia between the national leadership and the negotiators. President Tudjman profited from his last departure for Dayton by securing the exchange of Mrkonjic Grad and Sipovo for another part of Bosnian Posavina. Attempts were made to get more, but it was not to be.

The Croatian opposition is divided in its reactions. However, even the negative reaction from the three leading opposition parties refers more to the moral than the political aspect of the agreement. The opposition has still to learn from the West about the balance between politics and ethics. The West was unanimous in expressing satisfaction with the agreement, not paying too much attention to ethics, which the signatories to the agreement have learned in due course. [passage omitted]

Croatia should therefore accept the challenge of living peacefully in its own state and achieve all that was not possible in war in order to avoid too many victims as well as what it could not achieve through talks because of lack of political courage.

Conditions for Abdic Supporters 'Deteriorating'

AU2311175995 Paris AFP in English 1737 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov 23 (AFP)—Thousands of Muslim refugees from the Bosnian war are facing rapidly deteriorating conditions as winter bites into an inadequately appointed camp in southern Croatia, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) said Thursday.

"Several thousand people, including old people and children, are living and sleeping in inadequate conditions without heating and without electricity" while temperatures have dropped below freezing, the ICRC said in a statement.

Some 20,000 Muslims, who backed dissident warlord Fikret Abdic in his support of the Bosnian Serbs against the Bosnian Government, fled into southern Croatia when their Velika Kladusa stronghold in northwest Bosnia was overrun by Croat and Bosnian army forces.

The thousands of refugees at the Kupljlensko camp south of Zagreb have been subjected to forced repatriation and some have been arrested by Croatian authorities, according to international organisations.

Only a small number of refugees have agreed to return to Velika Kladusa, a small town north of Bihac. The majority have refused to return to the scene of the rout last August, fearing reprisals.

Zagreb has for its part refused to grant the displaced persons refugee status and wants to send them home.

Opposition To Stage Protest on Prevlaka Issue

AU2211155195 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 21 Nov 95 p 8

[Report by Anton Hauswitschka: "No Trading With Croatian Land"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dubrovnik—On Saturday [25 November], Dubrovnik branches of various opposition parties will be organizing a protest rally in front of St. Vlaho's Church under the motto: "Croatia is Prevlaka". The Dubrovnik Liberals [Croatian Social Liberal Party, HSLS] announced the rally at a news conference organized after Croatia Airlines issued promotional material containing a map of Croatia on which the state borders do not include the Prevlaka peninsula at the farthest southeastern point of our country and after President Franjo Tudjman's decree of 17 November mentioned

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the exchange of Prevlaka for Bosnia-Herzegovina territory in the Dubrovnik hinterland. The Dubrovnik Liberals are mainly interested in the size of the territory comprising the tip of Prevlaka, or in other words, how much more Croatia is supposed to give in order to get what has always belonged to it. The Liberals also asked: "Are not the Croatian lives lost, the burned villages, and destroyed cities a high enough price for peace in the region, or do we have to make territorial concessions to the aggressor as a reward for signing the peace agreement at Wright-Patterson Air Base?" According to the HSLS, the principle that no one can trade Croatian land has been violated. The exchange of Prevlaka for the Dubrovnik hinterland will not secure peace for Dubrovnik, because despite the presence of the Croatian Army, the Serbs from Trebinje are constantly shelling the Dubrovnik area. If this principle is violated, it will enable the feeding of Serbian territorial appetites and will give them the right to take what they want.

"If we give in today to the Serbo-Montenegrin appetite for Prevlaka, what will happen to the appetite that will appear in 10, 20, or 50 years? The Slovenes want Piran Bay, the Bosnians want access to the sea, and the Montenegrins want Prevlaka. Is Croatia really such a loser that it has to give in and give everyone what he wants?" Sabor deputy Boris Franusic asked.

Article Examines Land Exchange Possibilities

AU2311103495 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 95 p 4-5

[Article by Ivica Djikic: "Bosnian Posavina—Mine in Agreement"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Will the U.S. attempt to reach an agreement on lasting and just peace on the Balkans collapse over the issue of the Bosanska Posavina region? As matters stand now, there are serious chances of something like that. In his letter to Richard Holbrooke, Kresimir Zubak, president of the Presidential Council of the (extinguished) Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia says the proposal for the Dayton peace agreement is directly opposite to Croatian interests in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Croats have, Zubak says, by the combination of different interests, to a certain degree become a victim of the peace negotiations, and evidence of that is, among other things, the destiny of the Bosanska Posavina region, an area that has been populated throughout history by a Croatian majority. Zubak recalls that the Croatian side in Bosnia-Herzegovina has proposed an exchange of territories, the area presently under control of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], and which was previously populated by the majority Serb population, for the territory of the Bosanska Posavina, where the Croats were the majority before the war. In that territorial swap the Croats could make an offer to the Serbs, an offer that would consist of the towns captured during the course of the Operations Summer 95, Mistral, and Southern Move, that is Glamoc, Bosansko Grahovo, Sipovo, Mrkonjic Grad, and Drvar; that means the areas with a clear Serb majority before the war. In return, they could ask for the majority Croatian areas in the Bosanska Posavina region, in which the Croats were the majority before the war. According to the 1991 census, in Bosanska Posavina there were 160,312 Croats, in eight Posavina municipalities the Croats were the absolute or relative majority in 114 towns and villages. Of 34,138 citizens of prewar Bosanski Brod, there were 13,993 Croats, 4,088 Muslims, and 11,398 Serbs. In Bosanski Samac, also according to the 1991 census, there was Croat majority of 14,731, there were 13,628 Serbs, and 2,233 Muslims.

Swap Possibilities

In 1991, the Croats were the absolute majority in Odzak as well as in Orasje, which has been defended. There were 22,252 Croats, 38,617 Muslims, and 18,128 Serbs. Of the 35,613 inhabitants of Modrica, there were 9,805 Croats, 10,375 Muslims, and 12,534 Serbs. In Derventa, there were 21,952 Croats, 7,086 Muslims, and 22,938 Serbs. Also, 83 percent of the land of Bosanska Posavina, according to the land registry, belongs to the Croats and the Bosniaks, and out of 114 Croatian towns and villages 88 of them have been occupied, while out of 48 Muslim towns and villages 19 have been occupied. During the almost four years of war, more than four thousand defenders, and 1,700 civilians have been killed, more than eight thousand people have been wounded, and there are some four thousand war orphans. So, the Croats, in a possible territorial swap with the Serbs, could ask for the majority Croatian municipalities of Odzak, Bosanski Brod, and Bosanski Samac.

On the other hand, the Croats would "offer" Glamoc in which, according to the 1991 census, there were 9,951 Serbs, 2,257 Muslims, and 184 Croats, then Bosansko Grahovo, where there was 7,888 Serbs, 226 Croats, and 12 Muslims, Mrkonjic Grad with 21,057 Serbs, 3,272 Muslims, and 2,139 Croats, then Drvar in which in 1991 there were 16,608 Serbs, 33 Croats, and 33 Muslims, and finally Sipovo, where there were 12,333 Serbs, 2,965 Muslims, and 31 Croats.

The differences between the territory currently under the control of the Serbs and that under the control of the Croats, are immense. To be frank, Bosanska Posavina is the only valuable territory captured by the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Posavina is certainly the richest and the most fertile region of Bosnia-Herzegovina

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apart from the Neretva river valley, and for centuries it has been populated by the Croats. As one of the leaders of HKDU [Croatian Christian Democratic Union], Anto Kovacevic, who originates from Bosanska Posavina, says, the oil refineries in Bosanski Brod (true, it has been leveled to the ground during the combat activities there, but it could nevertheless, with considerable financial investment, be repaired) and Modrica alone have the same value as the whole Herzeg-Bosnia. On the other hand, the area of Glamoc, Grahovo, Sipovo, Mrkonjic Grad, and Drvar, is rather poor in natural resources (apart from lumber) and industrial potential, and therefore it is utterly unrealistic to expect the Serbian political leadership to agree to such a swap in Dayton. Only U.S. pressure, supported by strong and sharp threats, could make them agree to that, but, as matters stand now, it is unrealistic to expect that nevertheless.

Training Ground for Continuation of War

The question arises, however, whether the Croats can exchange the territories they momentarily hold. For instance, can they swap Bosansko Grahovo, a town without any major economic significance, but with immense strategic importance, because if Grahovo is left to the Serbs, Knin loses its safe hinterland. Also, the only relevant traffic route toward Jajce goes through Glamoc, because the road from Tomislav Grad, through Kupres, Zlosela, and Sipovo, to Jajce, is extremely bad, and in winter conditions it is practically impassable.

The Croatian trump cards in the possible territorial swap with the Serbs are rather weak, and it is clear that the Serbs will not accept them by their own will, not even if they would be fools, but it is also clear that the Croatian side will not easily give up Bosanska Posavina, because too much blood has been shed for it. We can only wait and see whether the peace mediators will succeed in persuading Milosevic to make concessions regarding Bosanska Posavina or whether that area will be a training ground for continuing the bloody war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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Gligorov Makes First TV Appearance Since Attack

AU2311194395 Paris AFP in English 1912 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Skopje, Nov 23 (AFP)—Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] President Kiro Gligorov, 73, appeared on television here Thursday [23 November] for the first time since being seriously injured in a car bomb attack early last month.

Gligorov was shown welcoming U.S. Defence Secretary William Perry, who arrived in the Macedonian capital Thursday for a one-day visit to the former Yugoslav republic. [passage omitted]

Gligorov was dressed casually, wearing a pullover and a patch over his right eye which was blinded in the explosion, which happened in the centre of Skopje. [passage omitted]

President, Perry Discuss Peacekeeping Mandate

LD2411101795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2305 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 23 Nov (TANJUG)—Kiro Gligorov, president of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), held talks today at his private residence with U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry on the security situation in the region and the development of bilateral relations, it was announced in Skopje this evening.

Present at the talks were, according to the statement, Stevo Crvenkovski and Blagoje Hadzinski, the Macedonian ministers for foreign affairs and defense; Henryk Sokalski, head of the UNPREDEP [UN Preventive Deployment Force in Macedonia] mission; and Juha Engstrom, commander of the peacekeeping troops.

During the talks the interest of the FYROM in the extension of the peacekeeping mandate and establishment of their separate command in Skopje were stressed.

Gligorov welcomed the successful results of the Dayton negotiations, stressing the importance of the U.S. role in the negotiations process. At the same time, he underlined that the FYROM has advocated from the very beginning a peaceful solution to the conflict in the area of the former Yugoslavia.

The Macedonian president expressed hope that the Dayton agreement will be successfully implemented.

Expressing his satisfaction with the UN Security Council resolution on lifting of sanctions against the FRY and the arms embargo against the countries of the former Yugoslavia, President Gligorov said it will influence the strengthening of bilateral cooperation and enable Macedonia to take its place within the NATO Partnership for Peace program, the announcement said.

For his part, Perry expressed his pleasure at Gligorov's rapid recovery, wishing him a successful continuation of his presidential duties.

At the same time, the American secretary of defense expressed the readiness of his country to help the development and stability of the FYROM, which, in his words, "represents a factor of peace and stability in the region."

The head of the Pentagon also held talks today in Skopje with Stojan Andov, president of the FYROM Parliament, Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski, and Defense Minister Blagoje Handziski.

The talks centered on the recent entry of the FYROM into the Partnership for Peace initiative and prospects for its full membership in NATO.

Foreign Ministry Welcomes Dayton Agreement

LD2311003795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0028 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Foreign Ministry of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) welcomed Wednesday [22 November] the successful completion of the talks at Dayton, which, as set out, 'marked the end of several years of bloody warfare.' [Word indistinct] official reaction said also that the Dayton agreement was a 'courageous and wise act which undoubtedly opened prospects for a stable and lasting peace in the region and will at the same time [word indistinct] the creation of a favorable climate among the states on this territory for cooperation in all areas where mutual interest exists.'

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Kwasniewski Outlines Hopes for Future Government

LD2211195695 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Nov 95

[Interview with President-elect Aleksander Kwasniewski by unidentified reporter in Warsaw on 22 November—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] In his first interview granted to Polish media since the elections, President-elect Aleksander Kwasniewski has told the "This" program that the protests raised by Lech Walesa's electoral staff might be justified only in marginal instances. In Kwasniewski's view, the high turnout and the rejection by electors of all extremes created a positive image of Polish democracy in the world which ought not to be undermined by electoral protests.

[Begin recording] [Kwasniewski] I judge that it would be a good thing for us give ourselves and the world a signal that democracy is strong in Poland, that democracy in Poland is unshakable.

[Unidentified reporter] Why might protests undermine this image?

[Kwasniewski] I think that protests are justified if they are within a procedure which is proportional to that which is being presented. The point is just that today these elections ought not to be turned into a matter for protest. Somewhere on the margins it could be that they are justified but the essence of the November elections in Poland, the presidential elections, [word indistinct] is the fact that society has shown an enormous maturity. And that, and that is already a success which cannot, which cannot be reversed.

[Reporter] The president-elect has for a few days now been meeting particularly with foreign journalists and diplomats. Yesterday evening, Aleksander Kwasniewski spoke on the telephone with President Clinton. Today, a letter from French President Jacques Chirac was passed to him by the ambassador of that country.

[Kwasniewski] That which I heard immediately after the election from German politicians and that which has been written today by President Chirac, and that which was said yesterday by President Clinton: These are all an acknowledgement of the fact that Poland is a democratic country, that everything is normal in Poland, and what has taken place was in accordance with rules which they know, accept, and which are also in force in their countries. What pleases me personally very much is the fact that in all of these letters and congratulations there is direct talk, not in a very diplomatic fashion, of precisely the widening of the EU and understanding for Polish aspirations. Well, this signifies that these politicians quite simply wish to help us.

[Reporter] The president-elect is at the moment working from one of the Warsaw hotels, since up until his swearing-in the law does not formally recognize his status. Tomorrow, the staff of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] leader will move to a palace owned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Foksal Street [in central Warsaw], from where Kwasniewski will commence the creation of his presidential chancellery.

[Kwasniewski] I hope that this will be a chancellery made up of people who are competent and of people who, as I said immediately after the declaration of the results, will represent various views and political experiences. We will see whether this will succeed. I have been taught to be careful through various moments in my work with people, about posts and the filling of those posts; when something is ready, that is when it is appropriate to announce it. [end recording]

Kwasniewski's Defense Platform Detailed

WS2211143995 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 21 Nov 95 pp 1,2

[Report by Janusz B. Grochowski: "Newly Elected President on Defense"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] **"I will fight for the professional and financial stability of the Armed Forces with determination. I will not sign any law that is detrimental to the material status of professional servicemen, including legal acts altering the hitherto pension system," Aleksander Kwasniewski declared in the course of the election campaign. He also claimed he would cooperate with the government in supporting the technological and organizational modernization of the Armed Forces as needs arise and state funds allow.**

A mere 19 percent of people polled by MARACO for POLSKA ZBROJNA claim, however, that the newly elected president is capable of securing more funds for rearming the Armed Forces.

The best proof of that may be Kwasniewski's remark on POLSKA ZBROJNA's pre-election poll, in which he noted that the key to finding more funds for technological modernization and combat training need not necessarily imply increasing defense spending.

"It is equally important to get rid of redundant property and give the arms industry and equipment purchases carried out by the army priority status." At the same time, the president agrees that outlays on the army should be planned at least a few years in advance. "If we

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are to increase expenditures on the army in a given fiscal year, we should outline the goals we want to reach," he said.

Aleksander Kwasniewski does not rule out the possibility that Poland will have to reduce the number of servicemen if the Armed Forces are to be modernized. The majority of European armies were unable to avoid such cuts. He claims the Armed Forces should be smaller, but better equipped and trained—as a consequence, more effective. "Decisions, however, should be preceded by precise analyses carried out by military experts. Naturally, combat readiness must be retained and line units as well as fighting strength protected," the new president argues. He also claims that the process should be gradual.

The newly elected head of state stresses the importance of guaranteeing civilian and democratic control over the Armed Forces, which should be coupled by the apolitical character of the army. "One will not function properly without the other. I see both as a key element of a parliamentary democracy, both are indispensable for its proper functioning." The aforesaid control, according to Kwasniewski, should be exercised by parliament and the government he appoints. "I will counter political mechanisms leading up to a duality of power over the Armed Forces. I see the General Staff as an integral part of the Ministry of National Defense. I will take fierce action against any attempts at drawing the Armed Forces into politics," he said during the election campaign.

According to the polls carried out by MARACO Polska, 27.1 percent of respondents claim the new president is capable of guaranteeing civilian control over the army, and 34.3 percent believe he can guarantee that the Armed Forces will be apolitical and that he will not draw them into political "games."

Kwasniewski intends to wield his command over the Armed Forces via the government, specifically the defense minister. "This is a tried model of democratic states; therefore, I do not see why it should be different in our country," he states. The structure of the government is to be coherent, meaning that all ministers—without any exceptions—are to be subordinated to the prime minister. The chief of General Staff, on the other hand, must be subordinated to the defense minister and, just like the Armed Forces he commands, apolitical.

Although only 21.2 percent of those polled by MARACO Polska believe Kwasniewski can guarantee Poland's speedy entry into NATO, he himself declares himself to be a supporter of the Euro-Atlantic option. "Membership in those structures is in the strategic interests of our state." Moreover, he claims that once the necessity arises not only to keep but make peace in various countries, the risk of resorting to force may emerge. Poland neither should nor can shirk its responsibilities in this area, but implement them on the widest possible scale.

The new president also emphasizes the necessity of developing good relations and expanding close cooperation with Poland's eastern neighbors—Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania. [passage omitted]

Kwasniewski Interviewed on Future Policies

BR2211140695 Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 22 Nov 95 p 2

[Interview with President-elect Aleksander Kwasniewski by Sandro Scabello in Warsaw; date not given: "Europe and Reforms, This Is My Poland" — first paragraph is CORRIERE DELLA SERA introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] Aleksander Kwasniewski continues to send out messages of detente; he would like to meet Walesa, who has gone to Gdansk for a rest, discuss cooperation and "the things that bring the Poles together," and put the venom of the election campaign behind him, but he is encountering a wall. Last week, at the end of their first face-to-face on television, Walesa snubbed Kwasniewski, who wanted to shake hands with him, saying with angry sarcasm, "All I can offer you is my foot, if you want." Defeat has rendered him even more intractable.

[Scabello] Your opponent has promised to break your jaw, Mr. President. Are you worried?

[Kwasniewski] Walesa is furious and disappointed; I understand his frustration, he has lost the election, but the campaign is over now. If we work together, we will strengthen and safeguard Polish democracy. The verdict pronounced by the ballot box must not constitute an insurmountable barrier. As I have already said, in no way do I want to exploit my office to foster the interests of just one part of the electorate, but of all Poles. There is room for everyone in Poland, Walesa and his supporters included. Reconciliation is essential to social harmony and the furtherance of the reforms.

[Scabello] The war has just begun. The defeated candidate's staff is accusing you of vote rigging.

[Kwasniewski] Walesa is an eminent figure with a prominent place in the history books. I think that once he has got over the wear and tear of the election campaign and had a good night's sleep, he will see the situation in a clearer light, and he will realize that he can be a great help to Poland, to Polish society, and to better foreign relations. Together, we can speed the country's development, but divided, we will merely waste time.

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[Scabello] The opposition fears that the brakes will be slammed on for economic reform...

[Kwasniewski] The decisions that the first Solidarity government made in 1989 are irreversible. It is not a matter of brakes and freezes, but of giving decisions full consideration and avoiding irresponsible experiments. We have to bear in mind the needs of the sectors facing the greatest difficulties—farmers, pensioners, the unemployed—and young people hunting for jobs. The success of the reforms will depend on the balance between the benefits gained by those who profit from them and the repercussions suffered by those that they penalize.

The Left has been pursuing two priority goals since 1993: economic growth and the fight against inflation and unemployment. These will be joined by pension and tax system reform, which will keep us busy over the next few months. Poland's real problem today is not the rift between Solidarity and the postcommunists, but the enormous gap between rich and poor. We must remedy it.

[Scabello] The opposition also alleges that the Left is in no great hurry to take Poland into NATO.

[Kwasniewski] Poland's entry into NATO and the EU remains a top-priority twin goal. It is not only guarantees of security for Poland that are at stake here. The issue is a global one embracing the whole process of European integration. We believe that the unification of the two Germanies was merely the first step in this direction. Others have followed with the enlargement of the European Union to take in Sweden, Austria, and Finland. Now it is our turn.

[Scabello] Russia does not want the Atlantic Alliance to expand eastward.

[Kwasniewski] We will have to keep working at it, see each other more often, and convince the Russians that Polish membership of NATO is not contrary to their interests and that it is part of the European unification process, in which Moscow, too, can play an important role. Aggressive pronouncements arrive from time to time from the east. We must be patient; they have an election campaign under way.

[Scabello] Your opponents, who are convinced that the legacy of the Polish United Workers' Party and the pressure brought to bear by the party's hardliners will end up by influencing your decisions, maintain that you will always have the past to reckon with.

[Kwasniewski] It strikes me that the outcome of this election has confirmed that people are tired of all this talk about the past. The Poles are looking to the future and want to move forward. The Polish United Workers Party was not the Soviet Communist Party. Thanks to the pressure exerted by its reformist wing, to which I, too, belonged, major reforms were carried out. I do not like being described as a postcommunist. I belong to modern European social democracy.

[Scabello] You are regarded as worse than the devil in episcopal circles. They prayed in the churches for the salvation of the fatherland and democracy.

[Kwasniewski] Let us forget the propaganda and the election campaign. What do I have to do to explain that the strengthening of democracy is my top priority? More democracy means more cooperation, harmony, and participation. Dialogue with the church must remain open. We have two problems to solve: relations between church and state, which will be governed by the new constitution, and the concordat with the Vatican. We will find a compromise. State and church can get along together and have normal relations. I am fairly optimistic.

[Scabello] You intend to set up a "president's office" open to the various parties. Is there room for former Solidarity executive members as well?

[Kwasniewski] Of course, but do not ask me to name names. Talks have only just begun.

Court To Decide on Election Validity by 9 Dec

LD2311191495 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Supreme Court will have to make a decision on the validity of the elections on 9 December at the latest.

Krzysztof Kauba, the spokesman of the court, said that the Supreme Court verdict on the validity of the presidential elections, would be the final one and that it would not be subject to appeal. According to earlier legal provisions, this was decided by the National Assembly.

'Avalanched' With Election Protests

WS2411105695 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 24 Nov 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Boxes of Protests"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Supreme Court was avalanched with protests on the untrue information supplied on the newly elected president's education.

By midnight, over 600,000 protests delivered by Solidarity and Lech Walesa's campaign staffs were registered. More than 100,000 protests came from Warsaw.

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No one was able to count the number of individual protests that poured in. People are protesting the fact that Kwasniewski's campaign announcements stated he had a Masters in Economic Science, while in reality he never completed his studies. Solidarity and Walesa's staffs claim that voters were mislead and that this had an effect on the election results. Enclosed in the protest of Walesa's staff are 59 written statements by electoral commission members and persons of trust who assisted in the elections, staements claiming that voting cards on which Kwasniewski's name was marked were thrown into ballot boxes.

Receives 24 Invalid Protests

WS2211144695 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 21 Nov 95 p 2

[Report by Katarzyna Kesicka: "Twenty-Four Untimely Protests Reached the Supreme Court; Were the Elections Valid?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"The Supreme Court has received 24 protests whose authors demand that the elections be invalidated. None of them is valid," we were told yesterday by court spokesman Krzysztof Kauba. Those who want the court to examine their protests must file them once again.*

As of yesterday, the court had received 24 protests questioning the validity of the presidential elections. It has already rejected 19 of them and it will do the same with the rest any time now.

"The court will not look upon any of the letters which arrived before the State Electoral Commission [PKW] announced the results of the elections as protests. For this reason, they will not be examined at all," we learned from Judge Kauba.

Valid will be only those protests which are submitted (not mailed!) to the court within three days from the day the official results were made known. To make things easier, the court is planning to work around the clock on the last day before the deadline. If the three-person teams of judges decide that any of the violations of the Electoral Law or any of the offenses against the elections, as described in any of the protest letters, might have influenced the result, the Supreme Court may decide that they were invalid. The ruling must be handed down within 20 days from the elections.

It is not known whether, for example, the issue of Aleksander Kwasniewski's education may constitute grounds for invalidating the elections. It is worth recalling that official PKW notices contained information—provided by the campaign staff of the Democratic Left Alliance leader—that Kwasniewski has a higher education. Meanwhile, the vice president of the Gdansk University announced that Kwasniewski had been expelled from the university because he had not passed all the examinations during his fifth year.

A protest regarding this issue has been filed Tadeusz Narkun, councilman of the Warsaw Center Gmina [smallest administrative unit] (and he is saying that he will file it once again). "Polls published in the press indicated that the candidate's education was an important factor influencing voters' decisions. Thus, false data disseminated in PKW notices affected the result of the elections," Narkun believes.

The Voivodship Prosecutor's Office in Warsaw has not yet decided whether it will investigate the case of Kwasniewski's providing false information to voters. For the time being, proceedings are under way the purpose of which is to check whether an offense was committed.

However, the prosecutor's office has already received an interpretation of the law on higher education provided by the Education Ministry [MEN]. In line with it, Kwasniewski does not have the right to say that he has a higher education. "Tadeusz Poplonkowski of MEN wrote that in order to have a higher education, one must pass all the examinations envisioned in the regulations of the course, defend one's master's thesis, and obtain a diploma," we were told by Warsaw Prosecutor's Office Spokesman Ryszard Kucinski.

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Iliescu on Hungary's Joining NATO

AU2411102895 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 17 Nov 95 p 3

[Unattributed report on President Iliescu's statement to the French daily LIBERATION: "Hungary's Joining NATO Without Romania Might Create a Source of Conflict"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

The PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] Was Forced To Find Allies Where It Could

Hungary's association in NATO without Romania would create a source of conflict in Europe, said President Ion Iliescu in an interview granted to the French daily LIBERATION. "It is even dangerous to talk about the immediate integration of certain Central European countries. If one starts with establishing ratings, this will create a source of tension," said Iliescu, stressing the fact that the Partnership for Peace is for the time being the best formula. The head of the Romanian state said that Budapest's answer to the historic reconciliation proposal is positive but the Hungarian Government is under the pressure from some extremist forces.

In another line of thought, Ion Iliescu stressed that in Romania the political disputes have acquired an increasingly tougher edge as the elections approach. President Iliescu recalled that the PRM's [Greater Romania Party] act of joining the ruling party took place in a situation where the opposition rejected the proposed ruling formulas such as a national unity government, a cabinet of experts, a joint platform. "Politics is the art of the possible. The PDSR has been forced to form a minority government and to find allies wherever it could," said Iliescu in conclusion.

Roman Criticizes National Security Concept

AU2411131995 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 17 Nov 95 p 3

[Note by Mihai Radulescu: "Petre Roman Criticizes the 'Integrated Concept on Romania's National Security'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In a report forwarded to the Standing Bureau of the Chamber of Deputies, the Defense Commission led by Petre Roman [president of the Democratic Party-PD] recommends that the government revise the draft "Integrated Concept for Romania's National Security."

The commission considers that such formulations as "future integration in the viable international bodies we do not yet belong to" or "participation in bilateral or multilateral alliances" can create confusion about Romania's clear and final option of joining NATO, the EU, and the West European Union [WEU]. On the other hand, the draft concept is criticized for failing to make any reference—when defining the country's political and diplomatic action directions—to the course of the relations with Russia.

The commission report also mentions that, in assessing the risk factors for the national security, the internal risk factors (domestic subversion, unbalanced trade balance, the high rate of inflation, social and political instability, and so forth) are overrated, which, in the opinion of the parliamentarians, can create a distorted image of Romania, which is perceived as an element of stability and balance in the region.

PNL To Support Minority PDSR Government

AU2411151395 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Central Permanent Bureau of the National Liberal Party [PNL] discussed and adopted the text of a censure motion against the government. During a news conference held today, PNL President Mircea Ionescu-Quintus said that this initiative will be examined in the first session of the Executive Committee of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR]. Our correspondent Maria Cristea told us that the PNL representatives reiterated their readiness to support a minority government of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR], provided that that party is going to assume the political responsibility for the entire government period.

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Foreign Ministry Statement on Bosnia Agreement

AU2211155695 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 22 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovene Foreign Ministry reacted to the agreement reached in Dayton with the following statement:

Slovenia hails the progress reached in Dayton by the negotiators on the peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as the initialing of the general framework of the peace agreement. They are of the opinion that the role that the United States has played in the resolution of the crisis in the Balkans is of crucial importance in the peace process which has led to the framework agreement. We hope that the agreement from Dayton will be transformed into practice in the shortest possible time and that after nearly four years of nightmare and destruction it will bring peace to the crisis region.

Slovenia continues to advocate that Bosnia-Herzegovina remain an undivided country. Slovenia is very interested in the calming of the situation and the normalization of life in its vicinity, all this in observat ion of territorial integrity, the internationally recognized borders, and human rights. As a neighboring country, it is willing to cooperate and contribute toward the speediest possible stabilization of the political, social, and economic life on the crisis territory.

We expect that on the basis of the documents signed, the sides that took part in the peace process will cooperate constructively from now onward.

Defense Minister Hopes Accord To Stabilize Region

AU2211160195 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 22 Nov 95

[Statement by Defense Minister Jelko Kacin to Radio Slovenia on 22 November—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The signing of this document demonstrates the desire of the three involved sides to find an agreement and search for different forms of resolution of conflicts than they have done so far. This is an opportunity for this region to become more stable in the future than it has been so far. Whether this will be the case does not depend on us but on the three sides that have initialed the Dayton document.

Government Considers UN Arms Embargo Lifted

AU2411095995 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] As a country that is not involved in the conflict and is not part of the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia believes that with the passing of the UN Security Council resolutions last night the arms embargo against it has been lifted. Pursuant to this, the government will draft an adequate law over the next few days on the basis of which Slovenia will be able to resume economic cooperation with Serbia and Montenegro.

The Foreign Ministry also emphasized today that the UN Security Council resolutions passed include the interests of the successor states as well as a conclusion that the country called SFRY has ceased to exist. The documents passed envisage that all assets of the former joint country abroad will remain frozen. These are the assets to which any of the successor states of the former Yugoslavia has any claims.

Ministers Write to EU on Succession Issue

AU2311185595 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler and Financial Minister Mitja Gaspari have sent a letter to European Commission President Jacques Santer in which they express Slovenia's interest in having the problems of legal succession to former Yugoslavia solved separately from the peace agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At the same time, Gaspari sent a letter with the same contents to European Commissar Hans Van Den Broek.

The letters also express demand for EU members not to allow the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, after the international embargo is lifted, to have access to joint financial resources on the accounts of the former National Bank of Yugoslavia.

Court Rules Against Referendum on Citizenship

LD2311205395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1922 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ljubljana, Nov. 23 (TANJUG)—The Slovenian Constitutional Court has ruled that a referendum on stripping non-Slovenes, primarily those from former Yugoslavia, of Slovenian citizenship would be unconstitutional.

A referendum to decide for or against continued co-existence of Slovenes and the over 160,000 non-Slovenes in the former Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia has been requested by rightist MP's of the nationalistic bloc.

The Slovenian Parliament carried the motion last month, proviso the movers collected more than 40,000 signatures to support their motion.

But pressure from the international democratic public, human rights watchdog bodies and influential political

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circles in Europe prompted parliament to refer the matter to the Constitutional Court, which has dismissed it as unconstitutional.

The most rabid advocates of expelling non-Slovenes from Slovenia vow, however, to continue their struggle for an ethnically pure Slovenia.

Peterle Explains Call for Early General Election

AU2211180595 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 22 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Lojze Peterle, president of the Slovene Christian Democrats, has sent a letter to the presidents of the coalition parties and the parties represented in the State Chamber in which he has informed them of the decision of the party's Executive Committee to propose early elections for the State Chamber in spring.

Party President Lojze Peterle proposes that the parties consider the possibility of supporting the call for the early elections. In his explanation he states that, following the rejection of the Aquileia Document for the resolution of the open issues between Slovenia and Italy, the overcoming of obstacles on our way toward Europe and, in connection with this, how to get closer to EU associate membership and what we are willing to do in return, we have unfortunately grown even further apart.

The situation is similar over relations with Italy and Croatia. Despite the undisputed successes in the economic sphere, Peterle's letter reads, over a rather long election year—the regular elections would not take place until the autumn—the above differences in views could easily become a subject for party electoral antics.

The president of the Slovene Christian Democrats proposes that the parties and their presidents reconsider this initiative. They are also willing to discuss the initiative in greater detail at a bilateral level or within the circle of all three coalition parties.

As Party President Lojze Peterle said, the party has decided on this initiative after a thorough analysis of events in Slovenia, which are characterized by declining dynamics in the economy coupled with deadlock over foreign policy. The government coalition, according to Peterle, is not functioning according to the rules observed in normal European democracies. But the Christian Democrats have not changed their attitude toward the 1996 budget with this initiative. They expect agreement within the coalition on early elections. Departure from the coalition is also an option; however, the party simply wants the government also to achieve results in the period before early elections.

Hopes For Coalition Agreement

AU2211180895 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 22 Nov 95

[Statement by Lojze Peterle, president of the Slovene Christian Democrats, to Sandi Frelih in Ljubljana on 22 November—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is unfortunate that our Constitution is as it is on this subject. It simply does not mention early elections. However, the Constitution does have at least one very clear path to early elections, although it also contains an ambiguous part referring to the dissolution of parliament, which could also be understood as parliament dissolving itself. But a very clear path is possible according to Article 117 of the Constitution, which mentions a confidence vote in the government. The coalition can decide on and the prime minister himself propose a confidence vote. If this confidence is not given as a result of an agreement, then early elections can be held. This is the most elegant way and entirely constitutional.

[Frelih] So, you think that you will agree on this with the government parties?

[Peterle] I hope that we will agree. I understand that the first reaction from the Liberal Democracy points in this direction. In our opinion, the sequence of events is as follows: the budget, on which everything must be done to avoid it being dragged out, and then elections in spring. This is what we will be working on.

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Federal

Government Statement on Peace Accord, Future

LD2311174895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1432 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 23 Nov (TANJUG)—At today's session chaired by Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, the Federal Government discussed the report by Federal Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic on the proceedings and results of the Dayton negotiations, the Federal Ministry of Information announced.

The Federal Government considers that the Yugoslav delegation has achieved the targets set out in the platform for the peace negotiations, among which peace and the suspension of sanctions are of particular importance, and the Federal Government accepts the results of the peace agreement in their entirety.

The Yugoslav Government assesses that the peace agreement reached in Dayton is of historical importance, and that it represents a guarantee for peace, stability, and cooperation in the region and in Europe.

The Federal Government assesses that, backed by the guarantees of the international community, it is essential that the [Bosnian] Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croat Federation consistently and efficiently fully implement the agreement reached.

The Federal Government considers that the emphasis now should be on economic recovery and growth, normalization of relations with the former Yugoslav republics and other neighbors, and on the reintegration of the FRY into the international community. The development of an economic system adjusted to European standards and the restructuring of the economy are of particular importance, as are, in the area of foreign policy, the normalization of relations with international financial and trade organizations and the strengthening of multilateral cooperation. The latest UN Security Council resolution on the suspension of all sanctions makes the achievement of these targets possible.

It was assessed that the complete and full suspension of sanctions represents recognition of the Yugoslav policy of peace and the contribution of the Yugoslav delegation to the peace agreement reached.

The Federal Government states that in effect, as from today all sanctions have been lifted and considers that this has created the basic preconditions for a rapid and effective recovery of the Yugoslav economy and its successful return to the world market.

This is why it is necessary to make more efficient use of capacities and resources, as well as the newly created conditions that are a result of the peace process, concludes the statement by the Federal Ministry of Information.

Kontic Explains Effects of Lifting UN Sanctions

AU2311213295 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Nov 95

[Interview with Prime Minister Radoje Kontic by Dusko Petrovic on 23 November; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Petrovic] Mr. Prime Minister, 1,237 days of sanctions against the FRY have passed. Today is the first day after the sanctions. What is your comment on that and the resolution of the UN Security Council?

[Kontic] This is the first result of the Ohio peace agreement. Suspension of sanctions is in fact the continuation, the result of UN Security Council Resolution 1022, which came into force today. I would say that this resolution was a result of the peace-making policy of the FRY that has lasted for years, as well as the direct contribution of the Yugoslav delegation at the peace negotiations in Dayton.

All 10 resolutions that pertain to UN sanctions against Yugoslavia have been suspended. The notorious Resolution 757 of 30 May 1992, then Resolution 787, the also notorious Resolution 820 from 1993, which caused the most damage to us, and finally Resolution 2015 passed this year. Therefore, all 10 resolutions pertaining to sanctions have been suspended.

[Petrovic] What does it all mean for the Yugoslav economy?

[Kontic] [word indistinct] resolutions in fact eliminates any kind of restrictions and limitations in our foreign economic relations, that is, puts our economy back to the state that existed before 30 May 1992. Since you asked me what that means in practice, in practice it means that now our firms may completely freely, without any limitations, engage in imports, exports, and trade with foreign countries, may establish business relations, may establish cooperative relations, may establish traffic links, that is, air traffic, railroad, road, and shipping links. Our two maritime shipping companies may immediately start using their ships or return them to our port. That means that the port of Bar may start working. Financial transactions with foreign countries may be carried out. I do not want to go on listing these, but, in a word, it now exclusively depends on our economy whether it will quickly integrate into the world market, because there are now no limitations by Security Council resolutions.

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[Petrovic] What are your personal impressions, as a FRY citizen, of these recent events, of Dayton and the lifting of sanctions?

[Kontic] I sleep for a short time anyway, but for two nights I did not sleep at all expecting news on the signing, that is, initialing the peace agreement and lifting the sanctions on the FRY. I think that this is absolutely a historic moment and that what awaits us is in fact a new stage of economic recovery, our reintegration into the world market of commodities and capital, normalization of our relations with international financial organizations and international trade organizations.

UN Envoy Lauds Suspension

AU2311171495 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Nov 95

[Statement by Vladislav Jovanovic, ambassador to United Nations "immediately after Security Council resolution was voted for" in New York—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The very fact that the decision was adopted unanimously and that not a single member, permanent or nonpermanent, opposed the suspension of sanctions for and unlimited time is a fact in itself. Something like that could not even be imagined six months or a year ago, not to mention longer. This is the best reflection of the achievement that our country has made in its peace policy over a continuous period, and particularly in the last six months. Therefore, the permanent suspension of sanctions means a great political and psychological gain for our country and particularly means opening a quarantine and opening toward the world in economic relations.

What is important to stress is that involved hare is a complete suspension of all sanctions and not a limited one, as was speculated lately, that is to say, that there are not even the slightest reserves to our peace-loving policy. The fact that the sanctions have been suspended and not lifted immediately is more of a (?procedural) protection [word indistinct] than expression of distrust toward our country. This suspension of sanctions, the way it has been put will, judging from everything, mean their lifting as well, because nobody here called into question, even remotely, our country's readiness to realize this peace agreement in [words indistinct] its own obligations and thereby clear the road to full lifting of the sanctions.

Therefore, we are not only on the way out of a long dark tunnel, but are also at the entrance of a light and promising period of economic life, both in the country and with the world around us.

National Bank Head Comments

LD2311203295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1707 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 23 Nov (TANJUG)—The suspension of sanctions enables us to trade with the world, to export and to receive money, Dr. Dragoslav Avramovic, the governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, stressed today, cautioning that it was now important, particularly for the state, not to over-borrow abroad.

In an exclusive interview to TANJUG and POLITIKA, the governor said that we should not "leap into borrowing" before taking stock and understanding what is really happening. We should continue as though we are poor, Avramovic added.

In his view, our banks and companies, on the other hand, will try to reschedule their debts abroad and gain access to funds.

Asked by TANJUG journalists Stanislav Antelj-Medic and Vesna Arsenic and POLITIKA journalist Radojka Nikolic what was in fact meant by the unfreezing of Yugoslav funds in foreign banks, the governor said that he had received explanations that were not yet official.

According to this information, the funds can be unfrozen in accordance with the law of any state with the provision that these funds will remain frozen if a legal or physical entity insists on the right to or demands access to those funds.

This will mean, to put it graphically, that a check can be cashed in a foreign bank, but if someone lodges a complaint that this harms his interests (and is able to provide evidence), the funds will remain frozen until a legal settlement of the opposing interests in these states.

It is particularly underlined that the suspension or lifting of the sanctions does not prejudice the demands of the successor states of the former republics of the SFRY with regard to its funds and assets, according to unofficial interpretations.

At the same time, the need is stressed for the successors to reach agreement as soon as possible on the division of funds and assets, and the liabilities of the former SFRY. All states are called on to introduce into their national legislature a special provision for resolving in an adequate manner the conflicting demands of the former republics of the SFRY.

Asked what the suspension of sanctions means for the application of Program 2 [program for economic recovery following the lifting of sanctions], Avramovic replied that he had asked the Federal government

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yesterday to resolve without delay the four issues: The establishment of a market exchange rate, the proposal for a liberal foreign trade system, and the immediate adoption of the necessary measures for the transfer of the service for monetary transactions to the control of the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

Noting that Program 2 must be fully implemented immediately, the governor cited as the fourth issue the liberalization of laws on foreign investment in order to eliminate discrimination against foreign investors.

At the same time, the Yugoslav National Bank experts should prepare proposals for the liberalization of the foreign exchange system.

Asked whether the Yugoslav economy can achieve half of its social product in the area of foreign trade, Avramovic replied that there are no reasons to the contrary.

However, he stressed that there is strong lobby pressure for a greater flow of money supply in the country, more loans, and greater protection from foreign competition and this means that we will simply intensify the pressure on domestic industry.

That is one of our main problems, Avramovic said, stressing that the most important question is whether we will develop as quickly as possible an export economy, and whether we will become a country that has no foreign currency problems.

This can only be achieved if all available resources are directed toward exports, toward producers who must be competitive, the governor of the Yugoslav National Bank categorically said.

There are some who maintain that Yugoslavia cannot live without inflation. We are in the process of deciding whether we can achieve economic growth without inflation and without "struggling with foreign currency," Avramovic concluded.

Delay in Ending Sanctions Not 'Logical'

LD2311220495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2015 GMT 23 Nov 95

[Report by Borislav Lalic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New York, Nov. 23 (TANJUG)—It is believed that the successful talks in Ohio will be followed not only by the settling of the armed conflict and stabilization of peace in Bosnia, but also Yugoslavia's speedy reintegration into international institutions, which should in turn lead to a slowing and eventual end of the media campaign against Yugoslavia.

The U.N. Security Council on Wednesday [22 November] evening unanimously suspended all sanctions against Yugoslavia, announcing they would be lifted totally in a few months, after the first post-war elections in Bosnia.

This delay hardly seems logical. Chinese Ambassador Qin Huasun spoke about this at the council meeting last night. The sanctions should be lifted immediately, he said, just as Yugoslavia should be reintegrated into all international institutions as soon as the peace agreement is signed in Paris in December.

Russian Ambassador Sergey Lavrov spoke along the same lines.

U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Madeleine Albright said before the session that she was happy things were moving toward a relaxation after the Dayton talks and that she thought the process of Yugoslavia's reintegration into international institutions would proceed in parallel with the implementation of the Dayton peace accords.

It was announced here that the Paris conference would be scheduled soon, and that it would be followed by the full implementation of the peace accords, which means that a peace contingent of about 60,000 troops will be sent to Bosnia.

U.S. President Clinton will address the nation on Monday evening [27 November], in connection with peace in the Balkans and the sending of U.S. troops to Bosnia, to explain the role of the United States and the country's engagement in that process.

In all this, the most important thing for Yugoslavia is that the 'Ohio initials' have brought an evident change in the international (?political) climate toward Yugoslavia. This might lead to a slowing and ending of the frenzied media, psychological, economic, and [word indistinct] campaigns which had been waged against Yugoslavia in the past three and a half years.

Pre-Sanction Terms Sought From IMF, World Bank

LD2311204495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1905 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov 23 (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will insist in negotiations on the renewal of its membership in the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development that terms prior to the imposition of international community sanctions on FRY be in force during the negotiations.

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Dr. Oskar Kovac, member of the Yugoslav Government team of experts for establishing relations with international financial institutions, made this statement to the press Thursday, recalling that IMF should reconsider the issue of Yugoslavia's membership shortly, as the six-month deadline to this effect expires on December 14.

If, following the lasting suspension of sanctions, Yugoslavia is enabled to use its frozen National Bank assets to the value of about one billion dollars, its foreign exchange reserves would be considerably strengthened and the convertibility of the dinar would be supported, Kovac said.

Unfreezing of state assets would in no way reduce or jeopardize the rights of new states created in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, Kovac said.

The strengthening of foreign exchange reserves will enable Yugoslavia to use part of the funds to pay its obligations to the IMF and other foreign debt dues that cannot be rescheduled, Kovac said.

Interior Minister Calls Kosovo 'Undetachable'

AU2411103195 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Nov 95 p 16

[Unattributed report: "Jokanovic: Triumph of Peace"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Federal Interior Minister Vukasin Jokanovic said last night that "the triumph of the policy of peace, which resulted in the Dayton peace agreement, has created the necessary preconditions for the end to the war destruction and suffering on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and for a better life for all the citizens."

"The time of peace is before us, time without sanctions, when we can devote ourselves to questions of development, economic prosperity, universal human values, tolerance, and understanding."

The federal minister said that "there has been a lot of talk about Kosovo and Metohija recently."

"One should say clearly that there can be a dialogue about all the problems concerning Kosovo, but this dialogue can only take place between Serbs and Albanians, citizens of Serbia and the FRY. This is the only possible way for a lasting solution to the situation in Kosovo and Metohija, as undetachable parts of Serbia and the FRY, and for a peaceful existence for all its citizens."

Yugoslav Left Supports Integral Bosnia

AU2311175795 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Nov 95 p 12

[Statement by the Yugoslav Left: "FRY Has Been Freed From Demons of War in Neighborhood"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Yugoslav Left [JUL] welcomes the signing of peace in Dayton. We believe that peace is in the interests of all the nations that are at war, reads a JUL statement yesterday.

The JUL has from the day that it was formed considered peace its priority. The signing of peace is a gesture of support to our commitment.

We have held that the war on the territory of the former Yugoslavia is senseless and tragic for all those who have taken part in it. There are no winners in this war. Its victims have been poor people, women, and children. We look forward to peace particularly for their sake.

We believe that after the war economic and cultural ties should be established among all the nations on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. We believe that all the refugees should return home and that all the communities to which the refugees return will respect the agreement on their right to a safe life in equality.

When it comes to the FRY, we believe that—now that it has been freed from the demons of war in its neighborhood, and everything else that it had to endure with that demon—it should dedicate itself to its own economic and cultural development and efforts to rejoin the international community.

We support the concept of an integral Bosnia from the documents accepted in Dayton, with the hope that the nations that are now in divided entities within Bosnia will live in peace and aware of the fact that multiethnicity is the future of not only the Balkans but the entire world. We also support the agreement that Sarajevo should be an undivided city. We believe that all the war criminals, warmongers, and war profiteers should be held accountable for their acts, and bear the consequences.

We hope that peace will indeed come to the territory of the former Yugoslavia and we hope that the citizens of the FRY will take advantage of peace to promote together their economic and cultural development, the statement reads.

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TANJUG Views Bosnian Peace Agreement

LD2211194895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1608 GMT 22 Nov 95

[Report by Borislav Lalic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Dayton, Nov. 22 (TANJUG)—Peace has prevailed. Much more than just a peace agreement for Bosnia, the package agreed in Dayton secures peace and stability in the whole of the Balkans that was on the verge of a regional war.

The question of a suspension, and later formal lifting, of the United Nations sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is one of the important segments of the package and the U.N. Security Council is on Wednesday expected to take a formal decision on the issue.

Yugoslavia may be freed from the burden of the sanctions as early as Thursday [23 November], which is believed to be an important element of the process of stabilization of peace in the Balkans.

Bosnian Muslim hardline leader Alija Izetbegovic was himself unable to oppose the logic of peace, realizing that this time he would be alone and isolated if he decided to continue fighting.

The Dayton agreement preserves Bosnia as an integral state, but it is now divided into two independent and equal entities—the Muslim-Croat Federation and the Republika Srpska (Bosnian Serb Republic)—which basically settles the problem that had originally triggered the civil war in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Bosnia is divided in keeping with the interests, rights and wishes of the peoples living there.

The administration of U.S. President Bill Clinton definitively decided to end the Bosnian war, which appeared to be one of the most crucial factors leading to peace.

Izetbegovic himself became aware of this in the end, just as he had to realize that the beginning of the normalization of relations and a peaceful settlement of the existing problems between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia mean that peace is prevailing in the Balkans.

Izetbegovic must have understood this fully on Tuesday morning when, after bringing the talks to the verge of a collapse the previous night, he was told by Serbian and Croatian presidents Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman in the presence of U.S. State Secretary Warren Christopher that they were ready to sign the agreement [words indistinct] if Izetbegovic continued to oppose peace.

The agreement was hard to reach because of some painful compromises that the negotiating sides had to make. However, as Milosevic said in Dayton on Tuesday, peace would not be possible without them.

Serbia

Parties Assess Results of Lifting Sanctions

LD2411002895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2143 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 23 (TANJUG)—Parties in Serbia assessed Thursday, on the occasion of the suspension of the international sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, that this should mark a speedier settlement of vital issues of the economy and the citizens.

Spokesman for the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia Ivica Dacic said: 'It is necessary to turn to development, production, restructuring of the economy, stimulating exports, and educating experts for the times after the sanctions.'

Dacic spoke at a rally of economists and businessmen in the southern Serbian industrial town of Nis. He said the three and a half years of sanctions had had a severe toll, but had at times been a screen for hiding weaknesses and postponing the resolving of problems in reviving production, exports, and the economy.

The opposition Serbian Renewal Movement said the suspension of the sanctions against Yugoslavia should not be seen as a gesture of good will of the powers or a result of certain deals, but as giving Serbs back the ticket to a democratic world and humane future.

A statement by the press service of this party said the end of the international isolation which was devastating in many ways should be a beginning of a better quality of political, economic, spiritual, and cultural relations in Serbia.

The Yugoslav Committee of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia said the suspension of the sanctions enabled Yugoslavia's reintegration into international economy and trade, a better standard, and free passage of people and capital.

The party statement pointed out that the international community had after a long time recognized Yugoslavia's objective and peacemaking stand in the tragic developments in the territory of former Yugoslavia.

President of the Serbian Committee of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia Goran Latinovic told a press conference in Belgrade that Yugoslavia was now facing general reconstruction in which all progressive powers should unite.

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DSS Leader Voices Doubts Over Dayton Accord

LD2211191795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1336 GMT 22 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—Vojislav Kostunica, chairman of the Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS), said today that he did not believe that the Dayton agreement would lead to new instability in Bosnia, but that the Serbs have less reason for satisfaction than anyone else.

At a news conference Kostunica said that the Dayton agreement will be worked out in detail [operacionalizovan] at the future conferences and that it is a "bulky document with a lot of fine rhetoric and maps."

According to him, all the working out of operational details of documents in the past concealed the restriction of the independence of the Bosnian Serb Republic and the strengthening of the authority of the federal government.

He considers that in the Dayton agreement the fact that Sarajevo will be a united city within the Muslim-Croat federation represents an important part in the unification of Bosnia.

The leader of the Democratic Party of Serbia expressed fears about how international arbitration would solve the question of the Brcko corridor, evoking the negative experience with the work of the Badenter commission.

Kostunica said that in the forthcoming period the strengthening and deepening of political, economic, cultural, spiritual, and all other ties between the Serb Republic and Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must be of paramount importance.

Djindjic Says FRY Must Fight 'Assimilation'

AU2311144095 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Nov 95 p 4

[Report by S.N.A.: "Extremely Tasteless Triumphalism of the Regime"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—We hail the acceptance of the peace plan as a move that has ended one of the most brutal wars in the second half of this century, Democratic Party [DS] President Zoran Djindjic said at yesterday's news conference as he presented the conclusions adopted by the DS Presidency after the signing of the Dayton agreement.

According to the DS Presidency, all the signatories of the peace agreement are responsible for the escalation of the conflict which broke out five years ago, and that is why "the Serbian regime's triumphalism is in extremely poor taste." Moreover, Zoran Djinjdjic yesterday asked how it was possible that agreements and compromises with the political representatives of the Croatian and Muslim peoples were possible, yet compromise and agreement with political representatives of one's own people are persistently rejected.

The Serb Republic is threatened by assimilation and annulment of its statehood, Djindjic said and added that unless Serbia and Yugoslavia extend help, a peacetime procession of refugees from the Serb Republic could soon set out for Serbia. According to the DS president, it is precisely because of this that Serbia must reach political consensus on the ways and means of helping the Serb Republic which "must not be abandoned to the whims of Serbian court politics."

According to Zoran Djindjic, the lifting of sanctions will only have value if internal sanctions, which the Serb regime has imposed on its citizens— administrative measures in the economy and monopoly—are simultaneously lifted. If this does not happen, both the Serbian citizens and the international community will realize that sanctions, blockade, and monopoly represent the basic program of the Socialist Party of Serbia, the DS president concluded.

Commentary Calls Agreement 'Triumph for Peace'

AU2211213195 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 95 p 2

[Commentary by Ivan Lobric: "A Triumph for Peace"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The 43 months of the bitter Bosnian drama has been ended after 22 days in Dayton. Principally thanks to the Yugoslav delegation, led by President Slobodan Milosevic, the burning Balkan powderkeg, whose wick was lit four years ago, has been extinguished during these last weeks.

The policy of peace and equal rights supported by Yugoslavia from the very beginning of the crisis has become the fundamental part not only of the Dayton peace process. The creation of peace has been our main political aim and the prerequisite for the achievement of all other aims. It has once again been proven that our peaceful and peace-loving policy has been correct, especially the policy of our president, whom the West also recognizes as the Balkan leader who is more than anybody else oriented toward peace.

The feeling that the Yugoslav delegation made a very decisive and consistent impression during the Dayton negotiations is very strong. Many, and not only Yugoslav but also foreign, commentators, have concluded that this dignified attitude and behavior annulled all the criticism that came from Yugoslav opposition parties and certain intellectuals, who have claimed that Serbia

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and Yugoslavia have casually yielded on everything and have betrayed everything.

The war is turning its back on us. Everybody is exhausted, all parties to the conflict have lost too much to allow a new war to break out. Dayton has shown that the world cared exceptionally for a stable peace. In other words, it must be hoped that the peace achieved in this blood-stained Balkan region will remain permanent.

There might be people who will not be enchanted by peace, especially our warmongers, who would like to go on digging trenches and new graves, but even they might stop soon.

The world certainly appreciates the consistent peace policy followed by Yugoslavia and its president, so it has responded with the removal of the sanctions. The signing of the peace agreement and the removal of the sanctions are two parallel steps that lead to the same aim: a permanent peace and the stabilization of the situation in the Balkans. Our aim is to return to the world. Yugoslavia has always been on the better side of the world. [sentence as published]

Let me cut the whole story short. The bloodshed, this bitter Balkan drama has come to an end. The war will not live at this address any longer.

Montenegro

Commentary Says Montenegro, Kosovo 'Pushed Aside'

AU2311085695 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 17 Nov 95 p 5

[Commentary by Dragan Veselinov, leader of the Serbian Peasants Party: "Changes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When Vuk Draskovic [leader of Serbian Renewal Movement] and I went to see Lord Carrington in September of 1993, we asked him if Europe was going to arrest our war criminals. He answered that it was not possible to capture them, because they were surrounded with their armies and they did not go abroad. To that we responded that they were constantly abroad, and that the world was constantly negotiating with them in Geneva. To that, he said that the two of us should go to the toilet and wash our hands, so that, on parting, he could give us each a glass of honey from his clean apiary of over 3,000 beehives. We licked that honey when we returned to our country, bitterly convinced that we had had to take that unpleasant lesson in political accounting.

Some of those whom we have for a long time believed to be war criminals are now abroad, in Dayton. The Americans have not arrested anybody either. Is it possible that nobody has ended up behind bars? Everybody says that Milosevic is the main culprit in the bloody turmoil, and everybody knows that he has lost the war. And yet he has the honor of, allegedly, negotiating with the winners. The Americans have let him talk for days. They want him to formulate his own capitulation, so that it does not look as if they were dictating the conditions of surrender to him. Only if he delays and protests a lot, he has to be reminded that in that case he will have to stay on the base longer, but that he will not leave it without surrender. He dare not go out, and he cannot go home. The indictment and the ticket to the Hague hang above him. The Americans do not want to make the same mistake Europe made when it dictated the offensive capitulation to Germany in 1918. The worst thing is to provoke a defeated nation to dream about revenge. It is not good to pressure him either, because of the neighboring states, since they could fear someone could intervene in their country as well.

Paradoxical as it might seem, Milosevic is being kept in power by Izetbegovic now. The Americans do not know what to do with the president from Sarajevo. They still cannot take over the entire rule over Bosnia, as Vienna did in 1908, because it would be hard to convince the population that it is in their interest to become an additional star on the American flag. They also cannot leave Bosnians to the mercy of the sharks from Belgrade and Zagreb, because they have already become involved. They by no means want to create a Muslim Bosnia. And yet, because of the peace agreement, they cannot avoid the war presidents in Sarajevo, Belgrade, and Zagreb. That is a difficult knot, they can neither oust them nor praise them, they have to stroke them coldly. That does not go without a farce. Izetbegovic lacks gas for Sarajevo and Milosevic for Belgrade—but how can it reach Bosnia from Russia, without having past through Serbia first! And there—the two of them beg for gas together!

How many concessions Milosevic will make in Dayton—that solely depends on the Americans. It depends on how much money they are prepared to spend on re-arranging political relationships on the [former] Yugoslav territory. As long as the war political teams are in power in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sarajevo, and as long as nationalists remain the main core of the opposition in this region, the Americans will have to spend a lot of resources on military control. There will not be enough resources for economic development, without which Bosnia would turn into a huge military base. But, how could Washington help, for example, Milosevic's Belgrade with money, if his regime has robbed the population thousands of times, and is still robbing it?

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Those who say that Bosnia-Herzegovina has been buried in Dayton are not right. It would mean dying only if Tudjman and Milosevic remained in power, and if Europe does not come up with a political and economic program of cooperation of the Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnia-Herzegovina states. The removal of the regimes of the present presidents in Belgrade and Zagreb, and a constant pushing away of nationalists from the ruling structures, is the best way to the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state. A good way to blast away nationalists is to acquaint those who incited people to believe in national hatred and war—with the courts. Nationalism must be prosecuted, and nothing can silence the war-mongerers so well as to declare their policy as a war crime.

For Milosevic it is no good trying to avoid extraditing Karadzic and Mladic to Goldstone. He himself can easily end up on the list for extradition. While he is listening to the roar of jet planes in Dayton, it is clear to him that he cannot refuse the crucial American requests and be unpunished. If he does not accept them, the war will go on, and sooner or later Izetbegovic will arrive at the Drina River. Then nobody will want to negotiate with Milosevic, in the same way as Karadzic has now been excommunicated. Milosevic has some maneuvering space to negotiate with Washington only because the Americans repudiate the victory of any side, particularly not the "Islamic." But it is not a good idea to try to tempt the Americans and see if they are ready to break Belgrade's will with the help of the Croat-Muslim alliance. They would do that.

The oppositions of Serbia and of Montenegro have calmly been observing Dayton. They have been helpless for a long time. Serb nationalists were defeated the moment the "socialists" became Serbs, and Montenegrins the moment when, by the stopping of the war and by the US intervention, they lost ground for secession. Instead, the Americans have become Milosevic's biggest opposition. If the president of Serbia is clever, he will understand that the Americans do not wish to change him for anybody from Belgrade. Montenegrins have entered shallow waters, and instead of independence they will have to fight much more for federal equality with Serbia. The Americans are coming to the Balkans in order to preserve the integrity of the states and the borders. The liberals from Cetinje would be making a mistake if they continued to focus on an independent Montenegro. Washington will not support that, but it will be glad to see federalist Montenegrins.

Rugova [leader of Kosovo Albanians] has been quietly pushed aside in Dayton. What goes for the retired Montenegrin independence movement goes for the Kosovo Albanians a hundred times more. The Americans will never allow Tirana to encompass Kosovo and to spread the "Islamic" element in the Balkans. But, also—the Ohio farmers do not want to pay their police infantry in the Balkans for too long.

At one time they will start financing the ousting of the survived rulers in Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo, and Podgorica. The candidates for the revolutionary money have probably already started thinking about the text of their applications, and the best way to use that money.

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